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A
T R E A T I S E

OF THE IMAGES OF
CHRIST, AND OF HIS
SAINTS: AND THAT IT IS VN-
lawfull to breake them, and lawfull
to honour them.

*With a Confutation of such false doctrine, At
M. Iewel hath vttered in his Replie,
concerning that matter.*

Made by Nicolas Sander, Doctour
of Diuinitie.

Ecclesiastici, 45.

τὸ μνημόσυρον (τὸ ἡγαπῆναι καὶ ἰδοῦν)
ἐν ὁλογίαις.

Memoria dilecti Deo, in benedictionibus est.

The remembrance, or the Memoriall of the be-
loved of God, is blessed. That is to say, any thing
which maketh vs remember him that is beloued
of God, is worthy of praise and of honor.



AT S. OMERS
FOR IOHN HEIGHAM Anno 1636
With permission

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THE
P R E F A C E
C O N T E I N I N G E A
B R I E F E D E C L A R A T I O N,
which is the true Church of Christ.

I Wrote of the honouringe
of holie Images , not be-
cause I lacked a better Ar-
gument to write of, but
because the time prouo-
ked me so to doe , and it
was also a truth , which ought not to be
neglected in any matter , be it neuer so
smale. Yea the smaller the matter is, the
more honor is done to God, if his truth
euen in that behalfe, be iustly defended.
But when I had ended the worke, consi-
dering that although I should persua-
de the Reader , that honour is due to the
Images of Christ and of his Saints, yet
I could not gaine any great thing there-
by, except I might holy recouer to the

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Catholike Church some of them, who by ignorance had wandered out of the right way: I thought it good to make a general Preface to this particular Treatise, to the end I might moue my Countymen (not only in this point of honouring holie Images, but much rather in all the rest) to returne againe to the Church, wherein they and their Fathers had ben baptized, instructed, brought vp, and nourished. I will therefore briefly repeate certaine knowen truthes, whereby a man (not wilfull nor stubburne) may generallye infooorme himselfe, where he may be surest to find the true Church of Christ, which is the pillar and sure stay of truth.

1. Tim. 3

Ephes. 1

Mat. 16

Act. 2

Gen. 6.

2. Pet. 3.

Math. 5.

Apos. 21

1. Christ hath alwaies had, and for euer shall haue, a companie of men who beleue in him, & professe their faith by outward Sacraments: Within the which companie (as it were within the Ark of Noe) all must be, who wilbe saued from euerlasting damnation.

2. This companie (beinge named commonly the Church) is that vnto Christ, which a great Kingdome or a great common weale, is vnto an other Prince. And therefore the Church is called

lee

Which is the true Church?

led the Citie of God, and the kingdome of heauen, wherein Christ shail reigne for euer. Mat. 13.
Dan. 7.
Luc. 1.

3. As the founder and King of this heauenlie Kingdome is *a mountain, which filleth the whole earth*, and passeth all other Kings in wisdome, power, and might: So his *common weale and Kingdome*, is spread more amply, and gouerned more prudentlie, then any Kingdome or Empire euer was. In so much that all Nations, yea the very ends of the world, are the inheritaunce of Christ, and his owne possession, Whom he gouerneth in a rod of iron, that is to saie, by a strong power, which shall not faile, nor be wasted at any time. Dan. 7.
Psal. 2.
Mat. 16.

4. To saie, that this Church or Kingdome of Christ did lie priuie, or was hidden anie one hower (after that he had planted it in all Countries by his Apostles) it is to make Christes Kingdome more obscure, then euer the Synagoge of the Iewes was, or then euer the Monarchies of the Assyrians, of the Persians, of the Grecians, or of the Romans were. Euery of the which (whiles it dured) could be easely pointed vnto, and was knowen through manie Nations

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No great
kinge
dom did
euer lyc
priuy.

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tions of the world. And yet Christes Church is described to passe and to excell all other Kingdomes in brightnesse, in glorie, and fame. For as Isaie, and Micheas sayeth, *it is the house of God, which is built vpon a hill, the which hill standeth in the top of hills.* And Christ himselfe saith.

Isai. 2.
Mich. 4.

Math. 5. *A City built vpon a hill, can not be hidden.*

And whereas vnder the Iewes, the Church seemeth to haue bene forsaken and desolate (in respect of the glorie of Christes Church, albeit otherwise, it neuer lacked the visible Ministerie of Patriarches, Prophets or Priestes) yet now God saith to his owne Christian

Isai 60.

Church. *Ponam te in superbiam seculorum, gaudium in generationem & generationem.* I will make thee the glory of all ages, and the ioy of all generations. And againe;

Isai 61.

Their seede shalbe known among the Gentils, and their generation in the midst of peoples. All they that see them, shall know them. Because they are the seede which God hath blessed.

5. The chiefe meane whereby the Church (though Christ be not visible present therein) is yet so cleerely seene, and so glorious in the sight of men, cometh hereof, because Christ being him-

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himselfe the *true light of the world*, communicated some of his brightnesse to his Apostles, to whome he saied. *Ye are the light of the world, a Citie built vpon a hil can not be hidden, neither do men light a candle, and putte it vnder a bushell but vpon the candlestick, to the end it maye geue light to all them who are in the house.* Ioan. 1. Math. 5.

6. As when the Apostles died, the Church of Christ died not, so Bishops and Pastors did succede in their place: whose Churches are as it were the Candelsticks, and the Bishoppes or Pastors themselues, are the Light which is set vpon the candlestick. For, that the churches be as it were candlesticks, the Angel expoundeth it in the Apocalips, saying: *Candelabra septem (qua vidisti) septem Ecclesie sunt.* Apoc. 1. The seuen candlestickes (which thou sawest) are the seuen Churches. And (as Daniel declareth) *those that instruct the multitude to righteousness, are like the brightnes of the Firmament, and as it were starres which shine for euer.* Dan 12.

7. Therefore the great Light and glorie of Gods Church, cometh chiefly by the meanes of the Bishops, and Pastors thereof. And by their knowen gouernment and consent (which is vttered specially,

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Lib. 3. c.
4. 11. 13
14. 15.
&c.

Paul.
Diac. in
vita Va-
lentis.

ciallye in the common practise of all faithfull people) and next thereunto in General or Prouinciall Councils, all the auncient writers of the Ecclesiasticall Histories, haue described and set before our eyes the state of the Church, as it may appeare in Eusebius, Sulpitius, Paulus, Orosius, Socrates, Theodoretus, Sozomenus, Victor, Euagrius, and that not without a cause. For as the head is the most notable part of the body, and as we know the whole man by his face: so it was euer knowen where that companie was, which professed the true faith in Christ, by the Bishops and Pastors thereof. In so much that, if anie Bishop or gouernour were hereticall, or did depart from the vnitie of other Bishops and Pastors, it was knowen that such a companie as followed him, and cleaued to him in that doctrine, was also hereticall and schismaticall. So were all the Gothes made Arrians, because Arrian Bishops & Pastors were sent by Valens an hereticall Emperour to baptize them.

8. And seeing the Church of Christ ceased not at the end of *the first five or six hundred yeres*, yea seeing it was then spread into more Countries, and the faith more

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more generally and freely professed then before, no reason can beare, that either the glorie of Christes Kingdome should then be darkened, or that the Bishops and Pastors should then cease to shine, or to geue light out of their Candlestiks and Churches. For (as S. Paule witnesseth) there must be Pastors and Doctors in the Church, vntill we al meete with Christ, which shalbe at his second cōminge. And Christ said to his Apostles: *I am with you all daies vntil the worlds end.* The Bishops therefore who succede the Apostles, continued stil. And therefore by them the Church of God is stil glorious, and still most easely knowen. And surely as the Histories of such writers as I named before, describe vnto vs the state of the Church within the *first five hundred yeeres*, alwaies naming the chiefe Bishops, and Pastors, and Councils kept in euerie Countrie and Prouince: euen so Gregorius Turonensis for his time, Gildas, Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Ado Viennensis, Nicephorus, Marianus Scotus, Zonaras, Martinus, Antoninus, Nicetas, Regino, Sigebertus, Sabellicus, Cedrenus, Platina, and diuerse other Greeke and Latin Writers goe forward in describinge the

Ephes. 4

Mat. 28.

The writers of histories in these last hundred years.

The Preface concerning
the Ecclesiasticall historie, allwaies nam-
ming vnto vs both the Emperors, and
Bishops, and Generall Councils of that
age, whereof they speake.

Notes.

9. Now to say that the Church of
Christ was knowen all the first fivie or six
hundred yeeres by the Bishops and Pa-
stors thereof, aggreing together in one
faith, and yet to say, that afterward it
was not knowen: I marueile what suffi-
cient ground it can haue, sauinge that
those who determined to erect a new
Church, must needes denye the former
visible suecession of the Church, least if
it be credited, all their labour be lost.

The
Church
of this
last 900
yeres is
cōpared
with
that
of the
first 600
yeres

10. But I speake to them who, being
not altogether set vpon selfe will, are
content to heare euident reason ground-
ed vpon Gods word, and vpon the authority
of all Ages and Writers. I say that as Eu-
sebius and the Tripartite Historie, pain-
teth out to vs the true Church of the first
fivie hundred yeres, by shewing vs the
Bishops who ruled the faithfull people in
Rome, in Antioche, in Alexandria, in
Ephesus, in Ierusalem, and in such like
places: euen so the Writers of the Ec-
clesiasticall Historie afterward, do name
to vs the Bishops either of the same, or
of

Which is the true Church.

of such like Churches and Cities . And as in the old time they were known to be hereticks, who departed from the known companie of Bishops and Pastors agreeing in one faith: so euen still they are known to be schismatickes and heretikes, who in our time forsake the Bishops and Pastors, which agree together in one faith, was best known by the common practise of their churches, in saying Masse, or in administering the Sacraments, and by Generall Councells: euen so it is stil known by those meanes, what Bishops keepe the vnitie of the Catholicke faith: As contrariwise he that refuseth the common practise of other Churches, as for example, to haue Masse in his Church, which all other Bishops haue, or he that refuseth to acknowledge the Laterane or the Tridentine Councell, which all other Bishops doe acknowledge, he is thereby known to be schismatical.

August.
epi. 16.

Practise.

Coun-
cels.

11. Where manie Countries, Tōgues, Rulers and Teachers are in one bodie, & as it were many Capitaines in one great Armie of men (as there are in the church of Christ) there if order be not exactlie kept, great and horrible confusion must needs

Order.

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Deut. 17. needes follow. The conseruation of order, is, to haue a knowen Iudge, whose finall sentence in all controuerfies al men may both heare and obey. Seing therefore the Church of Christ, which is in earth, *is like an army of men well set in aray*, there is no dout, but it must haue a chiefe Capitain in earth also.

12. Such an one Saint Peter was, to whome Christ before his ascension commended his shepe and lambes to be fed and ruled of him, *more then of any other*, euen as he loued *more then the other*, accordingly as Christ's words do signifie. For when he had asked of S. Peter alone, whether he loued Christ; *Plus his, more then the other Apostles*, he said also to him alone, *feede my sheepe, feede my lambes*. As who should saie, because thou louest more then other, feede more then other.

13. This Gouernment of the faithful, being by Christ committed *to one aboue all other*, must alwaies continue in one power *aboue all other*. For who may be so bold, as to alter the order once appointed by Christ? Therefore as one flock of sheepe continueth still, not in deede the same in number, which was committed to Saint Peter, but an other of the same kind.

Pascere.
is to fed
and to
rule.
Ioan. 21.
Plus his.
Chryl. in
Ioan.
Rom. 87

One
flock in
earth.
One
shep-
herd in
earth.

Which is the true Church.

kind: euen so must the Shepherd in earth continue still one, though not the selfe same which was the first chiefe shepherd, yet such an other as he was: that is to say, one mortall man must still feede Christes shepe *aboue all other.*

14. Farthermore, whereas *euerie particular companie* or flocke of sheepe, hath euer had one, and *onlye one particular shepherd* in earth ouer it: whereas euerie Parish hath one Pastor and Rector, euerie Diocese one Bishop, euery Prouince one Primate or Archbishop: how could it be otherwise, but that the whole militant company of Christians, being one particular flocke or bodie, should also haue one particular Gouvernour ouer it in earth? For it is also a particular flock, both because it is limited within certaine bounds of place (as within the earth) and within certaine bounds of time (as whiles it liueth here) and also within certaine bounds of nature, because all the militant Church is of mortall condition, and subiect to change, & *walketh by hope, and not yet in vision* or clere sight of the Godhead. So that the companie of Christians for the tyme in earth, is not the vniuersal Church, but

it

A particular flock.
A particular head.

The militant church is particular & one.

2. Col. 5.

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it is only a small parte thereof, and yet is one certaine part. And the greater part it is, the more neede it hath of one particular gouernour.

15. For Christ being alone the vniuersal Shepheard, and properly the gouernour of the Church, suffereth no manner of flock, which is by anie particular meanes one flock, to lack in that behalfe one particular Gouernour vnder himselfe. Seing then the companie of Christians in earth is not the whole Church, nor yet in glorie with the vniuersall head Iesus Christ, it needeth one proportionable head according to its condition and state in this world, much more then anie Parish needeth one Parish priest, or one Diocese needeth one Bishop. Consequently whereunto, it is to be confessed, that one head was to be set and to be continued, ouer the whole militant Church.

16. For as much as S. Peter was the first Shepheard on the earth, made by Christ himselfe, and he that shal be our cheefe shepheard from time to time after him, must be like S. Peter (as one that executeth the same office which he did) it is reason that he depend wholly of

Ioan. 22.

Which is the true Church.

of S. Peter, and succede him in his office. By this reason all other Bishops are excluded from this office of beinge the chiefe shepheard, who haue no speciall affinitie with the succession of S. Peter.

17. Now seing S. Peter sate first at Antioche, and afterward transferred his seate vnto Rome, the Succession in his chiefe supremacie could not be in Antioche, because then he himselfe had lost it by his owne life time. But if he were himselfe chiefe shepheard in earth whiles he liued, that only Bishop might succede in his chiefe office, who after his death, should succede in his last chaire.

Hieron.
in Catalog.
log.

18. It is well knowen, that S. Peter died in Rome. And thence he wrote his Epistle, calling the Citie of Rome Babylon, as the learned Fathers doe witnesse. Therefore the Bishopp of Rome is certainly he that succeedeth in the office of Saint Peter, and is for the time head and cheefe Shepheard ouer the whole militant Church.

Agrippus
lib 3.
cap 2
Euseb. l.
2. cap 19

19. And surely among all Countries, all Bishops, Pastors, Churches, Cities, and faithfull people that euer haue bene sith Christes time, none was so notable Rome.

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as the Bishop, Citie, Church and people of Rome. Neither any other place was so conuenient for the Head of Christes Church to be settled in. I will not here enter into that great deepe sea, of discussing the whole Argument of the supremacy of the Pope, which is already wel handled by D. Harding, by M. Dorman, by M. Rastell, and last of all by M. Stapleton in his returne of vntruthes; I seeke at this time to flee great cōtrouersies, and therefore will content my selfe with a most simple narration of truthe most euident, and for the greatest part, confessed by our aduersaries.

In the
fourth
article.

Italie.

20. First, no Countrie was euer more notable then Italie, as the which is by nature so seated, that it is most fit to gouerne, and for all other commodities, it is accompted the Garden of the world.

The Ci-
tie of
Rome

Dan. 2.

21. In Italie no Citie was euer so notable, since Christs birth, as Rome: because there was the seate and head of the greatest and strongest Empire that euer was, and thence the Gospell might be spread most speedily. Therefore the Bishopp of Rome hath the most notable Chaire and Church where to sitte, and the

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the most notable Candestlick whence to
geue his light, that anie Bishopp euer
had.

22. No Apostle was more glorious, The A-
then S. Peter, as who was first or chiefe postles
of the Apostles. Therefore the Bishop of of Ro.
Rome hath the most notable Predecessor me.
or founder of his chaire, that euer anie Mat. 10;
Bishop had.

23. What shal we say, that the Church
of Rome was also founded by S. Paules Gal. 2;
preaching, who was the Apostle of the
Gentils? So that the whole preeminence,
both of the Iewes, and of the Gentils, is
by Saint Peter and Saint Paule bequea-
thed, as it were, and left vnto that one Note
chaire of the See of Rome.

24. There was neuer no one See ho-
nored with so manie Martyrs and knowe
Confessors, as the See of Rome. Which
beside many thowsands of other Mar-
tyrs, hath aboue thirty of the first Bis-
hops who suffered death for Christs sake, Holy
as many moe haue bene for their vertue popes
and holines canonized, and common- of Ro.
ly taken for Saints through the whole me.
Church.

25. No faithfull people of any other The
Citie, had euer so notable a witnesse faithful
people
of Rome
geuen

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Rom. 1.

Cyp ep
1. ad
Cornel.

In proæ-
mio 2.
Cōmen-
tar ad
Galat.

geuen to them from Gods Prophets or Apostles, as the Church of Rome. For Saint Paule the Apostle of Christ said to the Romans, *Your faith is preached in the whole world.* And as S. Cyprian noth, the Apostle spake it prophetically, that is to say, not only respecting their present faith, which they had when S. Paule wrote vnto them, but also the constant faith which they should haue afterward.

26. In so much that S. Hierom proueth *the faith of the Romans which S. Paul praised* to haue remained euen til his daies, because none other people *did so deuoutly visite the Sepulchers of the Martyrs.* The which deuotion remaning stil in Rome til these our daies, sheweth both the same faith to be still in the Romans, which was in S. Hieroms tyme: and also the Protestants of our time (who accompt it rather infidelitie then faith to visite the Martyrs Tombes) to be of a contrarie opinion to the old Romans, and therefore not to be members of the true Church of Christ, nor to haue that faith of the Romans which S. Paule foresaw and praised.

27. Thus the Church and companie of Christians which now liue vnder the obedience of the Bishops of Rome, (as vnder

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vnder their chiefe Shepheard in earth)
haue both one visible chiefe shepheard
(which thing the scattered Protestants
lacke) and him placed in the chiefe Ci-
tie of the world, and his howse builded
vpon the Chaire of the two chiefe Apo-
stles, with a most notable companie of
Predecessors before him, and of faithfull
Christians about him. The which our
chiefe Shepheard, may not yet iustly be
called the vniuersall Shepheard, because
he is neither Bishop alone, as though no
man else were a Bishop, nor his flock is
vniuersall: for neither any of these are
vnder him who were dead before his
election (who soeuer be chiefe Shepheard
for the time) nor those who are borne
after his death.

The Po-
pe is
not vni-
uersall
prophe-
cie.

28. Therefore the Bishopp of Rome, Leo, Pe-
lagius, Grego-
rius, Bo-
nifacius.
inspired allwaies with the holye Ghost
(concerning matters which touched the
publishing of the Catholike faith) re-
fused euermore *the proud and prophane title*
of vniuersall Bishop, as the which only be-
longeth to Christ himselfe. But yet *the*
six hundred and thirtie Bishops, gathered to-
gether out of all the world *in the Chalce-*
don Councell, which was one, and that the
greatest of the first fower General Coun-

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Gregor.
lib. 4.
epist. 38

The po-
pe is v-
niuersal
in this
sense.

cels, offered the said title to Pope Leo, not in that sense as Christ alone hath it, but only in that sense, as it might be well meant, *that according to this whole flock, which is in earth, he was in deede the Bishop ouer all, and chiefe shepheard*. But the Popes of Rome would neuer take the said title, least though it were offered by the Fathers in a good sense, it might be slanderous to them, afterward, and a cause of error in Religion.

Luce 14

29. Yea contrariwise in steede of that proude Stile of vniuersall Bishopp, the Pope toke that humble name, to call him selfe, the *Seruant of the Seruants of God*. And so by humbling him selfe, he is in deede the more exalted.

Lib. 6.
epi. 37.
Euseb.
lib. 2.
cap. 15.

30. Whereas there were foure Patriarches at the beginning: the Pope of Rome was not only euermore the chiefe Patriarch, but also two other Patriarchs were preferred to that honor in respect of the affinitie which they had with S. Peter, who is the founder of the Roman Church. For (as Saint Gregorie recordeth) the Bishopp of Alexandria had therefore the second honor after the Bishopp of Rome, because Saint Mark the Euangelist, who was the first Bishopp of
Alexan-

Which is the true Church?

Alexandria, had bene the hearer of Saint Peter, according to whose preaching he wrote his Gospell. The Bishop of Antioche had the third Patriarchal seat, because S. Peter had gouerned there 7. yeres. Now S. Iames the Bishop of Ierusalē (who had the fourth place of honour) was also ordeined Bishop by S. Peter and by two other Apostles, Saint Iames and S. Iohn.

Euseb.
lib. 2.
cap. 11

31. Was not this a marueilouse honor done to Saint Peter, that for his sake three Patriarchal seats should be instituted? And when those other Seats began to be stained with heresie, and consequently to be oppressed of infidels, the successors of S. Peter instituted other Patriarchall Seats in the west part of the world, as at Aquileia, and at Venice,

Paulus
Diaconus in
Phoca.

32. Neither was there euer anye Bishop or Church so much esteemed, for the mainteining of the true faith of Christ, as that See of Rome. To that See *a* Irenæus pointed, as to a Witnesse of the true faith against the Valentinians. To that *b* Tertullian, against all heresies. To that *c* Optatus, against the Donatists. To that S. *d* Hierom against al the heresies of the east. To that S. *e* Augustine

a) Lib.
3. cap. 3.
b) De
prescrip.
hæret.
c) Lib. 2.
de schismate.
d) In ep.
ad Damatum.
e) In ep.
106.

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f) Victor
de perf.
Vand.
g) in e-
pist. ad
Leonē.

against the Pelagians. To that f Eugene-
nius against the Vandals, which were Ar-
rians. To that g Theodoretus against
the Eutychians, and all other heresies.

33. Whereas other Cities chose com-
monly Bishops of their owne tonge and
Country to gouerne them: As Rome
hath had care ouer all, so none other
Church hath had Bishops in it of so di-
uerse nations. Rome alone beside Ro-
mans and Latines, had in it Bishops
borne in Galilee, in Hierusalem, in Beth-
leem, in Syria, in Antioche, in Cappa-
docia, In Thracia, in Creta, in Sicilia, in
Sardinia, in Campania, in Tuscia, in
Aquileia, in Pisa, in Genua, in Bononie,
in Millan, in Parma, in Rauenna, in A-
thens, in Nicopolis, in Dalmatia, in Sa-
xonie, in Bauaria, in Holand, in Gasco-
nie, in Lorain, in Alsatia, in Sauoy, in
Burgundie, in Rhemes, in Tolose, in
Mastrick, in England, in Spaine, in
Afrike.

34. The same See for the defense of
the Catholike faith, hath vsed the au-
thoritie of a chiefe Iudge not onlie ouer
his owne Diocese or Prouince, but also
ouer whatsoever parte of the whole
Church of Christ. So Victor the Pope
excom-

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excommunicated the Bishops of Asia, (though they were in an other Prouince) because they refused to keepe Easter at the same time as the other Catholikes did. And although diuers Bishops, and among other Saint Ireneus, wished him not to deale so seuerely with them, who kept the custome which they had receaued of their Forefathers, yet none of them all denied, but that he had authoritie to doe so. Yea the very intreating with the Pope not to doe it, was a plaine confession, that he had authoritie to doe it. For there the sentence is really neglected, where authoritie lacketh in the iudge. S. Cyprian also desireth pope Stephanus, to depose *Marcianus the Bishop of Arles* in Fraunce, and to cause an other to be chosen in his place: and pope Felix deposed Acacius the Patriarch of Constantinople, being an Eutychian.

Euseb.
lib. 5.
cap. 24.

Cyp lib.
1 ep 13
In ep.
Felicis
ad Acacium.
Adoin
Chron.
Niceph.
lib 9.
cap. 27.

35. Moreouer diuerse heretiks haue bene constrained vpon their amendment to geue vnto the pope their scrowles of penance, as we reade Pyrrhus the archbishop of Constantinople to haue done. And also Vrsicius and Valens, with many others.

36. The Patriarchs themselues were

b 4

com-

The Preface concerning

Commaunded to geue an accompt of their doings in Ecclesiasticall matters to the Bishop of Rome, as it appeareth by the letters of Pope Leo, to Flavianus the Patriarch concerning Eutiches. And to Theodosius the Emperour, concerning that Anatolius the Patriarch, should confesse his faith, before he were ordeined.

Ep. 8. &
9. & 31.

a) Cā. 7.

b) In
breui.

cap. 18.

c) Tri-
par lib. 3

cap. 19.

d) & li.

4. c. 29.

& 30.

e) In ep.

ad In-

noc.

f) In

breui

liberati

cap. 12.

g) In ep.

ad Leo-

nem.

h) in

breui.

cap. 18.

i) Lib 1.

cap. 2.

37. The Bishops of all Nations (yea though they were Patriarchs) appealed to the Pope of Rome, as by whom they might obtaine iustice against the wrongs offered to them by the inferior iudges of particular Prouinces; and that is witnessed in the auncient Councell of a Sardike. So Athanasius appealed to the Pope of Rome as *b* Liberatus hath written. We read also in the Ecclesiasticall histories, that Athanasius beinge first cited to *c* Rome, afterward returned to his owne Church with the letters of Pope *d* Iulius, and by the authoritie of them recouered his bishopricke. *e* S. Chrysostom also appealed to Pope Innocentius, *f* Flavianus and *g* Theodoretus to Pope Leo, *h* Ioannes Talaida Bishop of Alexandria to Simplicius, *i* Briccius the Successor of S. Martin to the Pope that then

was,

Which is the true Church.

was, as Gregorius Turonensis doth witness.

38. And many of the said Bishops being condemned by Prouinciall Councils, were by the Pope alone restored to their Bishoprikes againe. And how could that haue bene done, except the Pope had bene confessed to haue bene aboue the Prouinciall Councils, euen of the East Church.

Gelas.
epist. ad
Faustum
& sequent.

39. What an excessiue prerogatiue of honor was this, that the Patriarch of Alexandria, being of all men next in dignitie to the Bishopp of Rome, yet was content to be his Lieutenant in the third Generall Conncell? What king did euer that honor to an other king, to become his Lieutenant, except he were one way or other subiect, vnto him? And least any man should say it came of pusillanimitie, or of the lack of knowledge in the Patriarche that was Lieutenant for the Pope, let him know, that it was S. Cyrillus, a man of notable courage, wit, learning and vertue: who yet thought it more honour to be president of the whole Council for Pope Celestinus, then to be vnder his Legate, if an other had taken that office.

1. Tom.
Concil.
Euagr.
lib. 1.
cap. 2.

40. That

The Preface concerning

40. That See had his Legats both
Cant. 7. ordinarie, and extraordinarie (when oc-
casion required) throughout all Chri-
stendome. So might he send, *è latere suo*
Presbyterum, a Priest from his owne side,
into any Prouince as the Councell of
Leo ep. Sadicke witnesseth . So the Bishop of
32. Thessalonica was an ordinary legat for
the pope of Rome in Grece , as it may
appeare by the epistles of Leo. The Bis-
hop of Arles was the same thing for the
Lib. 4. pope in Fraunce, as in S. Gregorie it is
ep 52 witnessed. So was the Bishopp of Iusti-
& ep 7. nianea the first legate for the pope . So
was S. Gregorie Legat for the pope at
Ado in Constantinople. To be short , the pope
Chron. had his Vicegerents in other Countries,
either Patriarchs or Bishops. And beside
In ep them he had Apocryfaries and Respon-
Boni a- sales, who certified him allwaies of the
cij ad stato of euerie quarter and Prouince.
Eulaliū.

41. The Pope by his authoritie trans-
ferred Bishops of other Countries from
Tripart. one Diocese to an other. As for example;
lib 12. *he commaunded Perigenes to be set in the Bis-*
cap. 8. *hops throne at Corinth . And Saint Gre-*
Lib 1. *gorie commaunded Martinus a Bishop,*
ep. 77. *to take the charge of the Bishoprike of*
Sagon.

Which is the true Church.

42. The consent of none other See, was so necessarily required to al General Councils. For there was neuer no one lawfull General Councel yet kept in the East, or West, whereunto the Bishop of Romes comming or sending, was not necessarie. In so much that where his authoritie lacked, were the assemble of Bishops neuer so great, (as at Antioche in the East, and at Ariminū in the West) it was rather accompted a conspiracy, then a lawfull Councel.

Histor.
tripart.
lib. 4.
cap. 9.

Gregor.
lib. 7.
cp. 66.

43. And as for *Prouincial Councils*, either his Legat was present in them, or els they sent to the Pope to haue the *Authoritie of the Apostolike See* geuen to their *Decrees*: as it may be sene in the Epistles of the two Councils holden against Pelagius, in the works of S. Augustine.

August.
epi 90.
& 92.

44. There was neuer no See after the Apostles tyme, which by his Legats and preachers conuerted so many nations to the faith of Christ. In so much that euen within these last thousand yeeres (wherein the Protestants accompt the Pope of Rome to haue bene the forerunner of Antichrist) he conuerted England by S. Augustine, Saxonie by Bonifacius, Morauia by Cyrillus, Frisia by Willibrodus,

The Preface concerning

Ado in Chron. Rhagini. Sigebertus. Aeneas Syluius. brodus, Bohemia by Adelbertus, Prussia by the Knights of the order, whom the Pope instituted for the conqueringe of Infideles in the North partes, and by that occasion Liuania also and Lituania was conuerted to the faith. And is he the forerunner of Antichrist, who procureth Christes faith to be spread as large as may be? *Euerie Kingdome diuided against it selfe, must needes be brought to naught.* If the forerunner of Antichrist doe set forward Christes Gospell, Antichrist is against himselfe.

In epist. Iudicis. De rebus gestis Rō. 1566.

45. At this day the See of Rome conuerteth Infidels in the new found lands by the ministerie of the Franciscans, and of the Societie of Iesus. Yea this present yere Pius quintus the Pope, conuerted Elias a Iew with certaine of his house, as well by his owne conference and talke, as by the good example of his life.

Isai 60.

46. None other See dured and florished so long. For the Cities of all other Patriarches, and the Bishops belonging to them, are oppressed with Infidels: and their succession is either none, or inglorious, and rather like to the bondage of the Iewes, then to the glorie of Christes Church, whereof Isaias prophecied.

47. There

Which is the true Church.

47. There was neuer no Bishopp or Patriarch so honoured of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, who haue ordinarilye taken the Bishopp of Rome for a Iudge in their causes, and at his motion haue made both warre against the Turckes or Sarracens, and peace betwene them selues.

Sigebertus
an. 1096
&c.

48. Did not the Frenchmen depose Childericus their King, and set Pipinus in his place, by the Oracle and answere of Pope Zacharias?

Ado in
Chron.
An. D.
740.

49. Did not Pope Leo the third transferre the Empire it selfe into the West?

Ado in
Chron.

50. Gaue not Gregorius quintus a perpetuall order for the election of the Emperour? Surely he that readeth that notable epistle, which Pope Nicolas the first wrote vnto Michaell the Emperor of Constantinople, may iustly feare, least that which he there told, concerning the Emperours of the East, will chance allso to them of the West, yf at anie tyme they shew such vnnatural affection toward the Pope, as the other of the East vsed to doe.

Platina
in vita
Greg. 5.
Tom 2.
Concil.

51. No other See or Bishoprick, hath bene so generally (as the See of Rome) ioyned in all Chronicles from the beginning

Euseb.
Hieronymus.
Prosper.
Ado.

The Preface concerning

Maria-
nus Re-
gino, Si-
geber-
tus.
Palme-
sius Ca-
rion.
Panta-
leon
Bale.

Luce 8.

ning of Christes Church to the end, with Emperours and Kings, for the keeping of the accompt of yeres and ages, and for the knowledge of the Ecclesiastical historie. In so much that yf an heretike write a chronicle, he yet of necessitie keepeth the number and the succession of the popes of Rome: as without the which no certaintie of the storie can be sufficientlie vnderstood: because none other See hath bene so famous, and so in the sight of all men, accordinglie as Christ saied, that: *Noman lighteth a candel and couereth it with a tub or putteth it vnder the bed, but he putteth it vpon the Candellstick to the end those who come (in to the house) may see the light.* For as S. Peter was the chiefe light of the world vnder Christ, so his succession is a light set vp in Rome to the end Iewes, Turks, or any other infidels who wil come into the church, may see the light, and so may be illumined, that is to say, baptized, and made a Christian.

Egesip-
pus lib.
3. cap. 2.

52. There was neuer no See more vehemently persecuted, not only by Tyrants the first three hundred yeres, but afterward by heretiks, and that of all kindes: for from Simon Magus who re-
fisted

Which is the true Church.

sisted S. Peter, all hereticks euer agreed to resist that See.

53. It hath bene also persecuted by Platina the faction of Christian Princes, and in vita Gregor. 7 & Nicol. 2. Emperours, by the Citizens of Rome, by the verie Cardinals, by the euill life of the Popes themselues, yea by the schisme and faction of many Popes at once. So that all sinnes, yea hell gates haue assaulted this See of Rome, and yet they preuaile not: because *it is the rock planted by Christ.* Mar. 16.

54. All Countries that euer forsooke the obedience of the Bishopp of Rome, were shortly after possessed of infidels, as the Africans, the Asians, the Grecians. None of all which were oppressed by the Vandals, Saracenes or Turks, before that it had (by open profession of heresie) dissented from that faith, which the See of Rome alwaies mainteined safe; in so much that the prophecie of Isaias concerning the Church of Christ, seemeth to be fulfilled in the Shepheard thereof. *The Nation and Kingdome Which shall not obey thee, shall perish.* In epi. Bonif. ad Euangelium & Nicol. 2. a. Michael. Isai 60.

55. Who did euer with such credit determine, what holy bookes ought to be Authentike and of full authoritie in the Church Distinct. 15.

The Preface concerning

Church of God, as Gelasius the Pope
in a Councell of three-score and ten
Bishops?

Euseb.
lib. 3.
cap. 23.

Ado in
Chron.
An. D.
500.
Idem
An. D.
760.

Surius
in Hist.
nostri
tempor.

Math. 5.

56. The Bishop of Rome hath alwaies
vsed to communicate euen his temporall
goodes so liberally to all kind of men af-
flicted beyond the sea, or in straunge
Countries, that it may well appeare to
be the prouidence of God, that he should
beare a motherly hart vnto all Nations.
Pope Symmachus gaue mony and cloth
to the Catholiks who were oppressed by
the Vandals in Afrik, and in Sardinia.
Likewise an other Pope named Ioannes,
redeemed of the Lombards, the soules
which they had takē prisoners at Beneuē-
tum. In our age the Assyrians, the Ger-
mans, the Scots, the English or Irishmē,
the Gothes or Danes, who in their ban-
nishment haue desired succour of the
Pope, neuer lacked it according to their
degree and his abilitie. In so much that
whereas the olde pensions be denied in
these Countries to the Pope, he yet of
his liberallitie geueth these Countrie-
men new pensions. If that be to render
good for euill, and to blesse them who
curse him, then the Pope is more like
a Disciple of Christ, then those who so
mise.

Which is the true Church.

miserably raile at him, by whome they were baptized, and taught their Faith. For it was not Luther or Caluin, who baptized or conuerted these Countries, but it was some Legate or other, sent from the Pope of Rome.

57. Of the fower Patriarchall Seats, none was free from an Arche-heretick, from an Archeheretick, I say, besides the See of Rome. For although in deede no heresie at all was euer mainteined or set forth as the true Catholike doctrine by anie Pope: yet I know wel, that the consenting to some heresie, is laied of some to their charge. Leauing therefore that which is in controuersie, I name that which is most euident, to wit, that there hath bene in Rome no Archeheretike, no inuentour of new doctrines, no head or captaine of a false opinion in the Articles of faith. At Antioche Paulus Somasatenus was an Archeheretike, at Ierusalem, Ioannes, and Arsenius; at Alexandria, Dioscorus; at Constantinople Macedonius and Nestorius. But at Rome none can be named. And yet whether pride, or power, or wealth, or witt were able to make an Archeheretik, no See was higher, none mightier, none richer, so.

Libe-
rius A-
nasta-
sius

Epipha-
ser 652
& 73.

Ammia-
nus.
Marcel-
linus de
Dama-

The Preface concerning

none wittier, as being placed in the harte
of Italy. But God would keepe one chaire
Luce 22 cleere for the honour of *Iesus Christ*, who
prayed for *S. Peters* faith, to the end he
should not only be faithfull himselve,
but also strengthen his bretheren. And as *S.*
Peters biethern (which all Christians &
specially all Bishops are) shall neede to
be strenghtened vntill the end of the
world, so must there alwaies one sit in *S.*
Peters chaire, to strengthen them. The
which thing he can not doe, if himselve
may erre, euen when he commeth to
preach the faith vnto his bretheren.

Greg. l.
7. ep 63
De con-
sec di-
stinct 1.
Calix-
tus in
tom. cō-
cil.

58. Neuer no Citie nor See made so
manie Decrees, and had them so vniuer-
sally obserued euen in other Countries,
as the See of Rome. Thence cometh the
order of our Ecclesiasticall Seruice, the
Canonizing of Saints, the Celebration
of our holy Daies, and fasting Daies, the
prohibition of degrees in kinred and Al-
liance, the Appointement of keeping Ea-
ster (the which euen the Heretiks are
constrained to obserue, although it be
not the expresse word of God) and such
like ordinaunces, which are obserued,
not in Rome or in Italy al one, but also in
Fraunce, Spaine, Portugal, Sicilie, Bri-
tanie,

Which is the true Church.

tanie, Ireland, Germanie, Denmarke,
Suesia, Hungarie, Poleland, Prussia, and
in all other Churchs of the West. Came
not this to passe through a marueilous
obedience which all Countries haue ge-
uen to the Church of Rome? Or came
that wonderfull consent, which all they
kept in matters of Religion, from anie
other spirit, then frō the spirit of peace,
of vnitie, and of concord?

59. So many Bishops and priuate men
haue writen to the See of Rome, for in-
formation and direction of their intent
in matters belonging to God (as it may
appeare partly by other auncient Wri-
ters, and specially by the Decretall Epi-
stles of all the Popes, and namely of Leo
the first, & of Saint Gregori the great,
which in manner doe all aunswere or
handle some question or other) that the
Prophecie of Isay is notably fulfilled in
that See: *Ascendamus ad domum Dei Iacob,*
& docebit nos vias suas. Let vs goe vp to
the house of Iacob, and he shall teache
vs his waies. For as the house of Iacob
is the Church, so the mouth of the
Church is the Pope of Rome, euen as
Saint Peter is called of S. Chrysostom. *Os*
Apostolorum, the mouth of the Apostles.

Ephes. 4

Gal. 2.

Euseb. 1

li. 7. c. 7.

Basilius

ep. 52.

& 57.

Ambro.

epi. 78.

August.

ep. 90.

& sequ.

Episco.

Taraco.

ad Hil.

in 1. to.

Concil.

In tomo

concil.

1. 2. 3.

Isai. 2.

Lucæ 1.

Hō, 37.

The Preface concerning

60. Neither did men resort only vpon deuotion to the Bishopp of Rome, to knowe what they had to doe, but rather
Exo. 18. of duty many tymes. For as Moyse ha-
uing set inferiour Magistrates ouer the
people, reserued the great causes vnto
himselfe: euen so it hath bene the aun-
cient Custome in Christes Church, that
Distinc. 27. in euerie matter of most weight in religiō,
Ep. A- should be reserued vnto the Popes owne
naclet. 3 determination, as it may appeare by ma-
Greg. li. nie witnesses, and by the continual pra-
4. ep. 52. ctise of the Church.

61. Adde hereunto, that it was not
sufficient for the Bishops to write vnto
the Pope of Rome, but it was allso the
custome, that they should in their owne
persons visite Rome. And Saint Grego-
rie witnesseth it to haue bene the cu-
stome *euen in the old tyme*, that euery *three*
Lib. 6. *yeares*, the Bishops should come from Si-
Epi. 19. cilia to Rome. Whereas those that dwelt
Distinc. neere, came yerely, and others came at
93. other tymes, according as they were en-
ioyned.

62. These manie Priuileges and Pre-
rogatiues of the Bishopp of Rome ouer
all other Bishops, declare, in what case
he was set by the appointment of God:
which

Which is the true Church.

which was so cleere in all ages, that euen the Emperours of Constantinople themselves, confessed his Supremacie, when yet they could rather haue wished that honour vnto their owne Patriarchs. For as they procured the second degree of honour, to be geuen to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, otherwise then the *Council of Nice had decreed*: so there lacked in them no good will, to haue procured them the first place also, if as by mans Constitution Alexandria was the second Patriarchal Seat, and Antioche the third, so Rome had bene the first only by mans appointment.

Nicen.
Concil.
can 6,

63. But because God himselfe had preferred Saint Peter, before all other in authoritie, to feede his sheepe and lambes, and in Priuilege, that his faith should not faile: and because the Pope of Rome sitteth in S. Peters Chaire, therefore no Emperour, no Councell, or Assemblie, was able to take the Popes supremacie from him. In so much that Iustinian the Emperour of Constantinople defined and decreed, and that *secundum Canonum definitiones*, accordinge to the determinatiō of the Canōs (meaninge also the Canons of the foure first General Councils) *Sanctissimum senioris*

Ioan. 21
Luce 22

Authēt.
de titu-
lis Ec-
clesiast.
& Priu-
legijs.

The Preface concerning

Roma Papam primum esse omnium Sacerdotum:
the most holy Pope, of the Elder Rome,
to be of all Bishops the foremost.

64. And whereas the Bishop of Constantinople, would not so geue over his ambitious couetinge still to be accompted chiefe of all : Phocas did againe determine . *Sedem Romanam caput esse omnium Ecclesiarum*, the See of Rome to be the head of all Churches.

65. Of all other things it is most singular to be noted, that whereas other Monarchies and great Empires, serued to aide and to succour the faithfull people of God: And whereas *the Roman Empire*, was *the strongest* & mightiest of all other, as Daniel sheweth: and whereas it was most specially prepared of God for the setting forth of Christes owne Gospel, as *a* Eucherius and *b* Pope Leo, and most amply of all *c* Eusebius doth declare: last of all, whereas *the kingdome and Empire of Christ*, doth much passe and exceede the very Empire of Rome, as also in Daniel we may perceauē: as soone as euer the Emperour Constantinus the Great, was fully instructed in Christes faith of Syluester the Pope, by the prouidence of God, he bequeathed Rome to Saint Peter

Ado in
Chron.

2. Esdræ
E.

Dan. 2.
& 7.

a) În ep.
ad Va-
Ierianu

b) In na-
eivit.

Petr. &
Pauli.

Term. 1
c) Lib. 3

de Euā
gel. de
monst.

Daniel
cap. 7.

Which is the true Church?

and S. Paul, as Ado testifieth : geuing
place to Christes Vicar the Bishopp of
Rome, and yelding his owne howse cal-
led Constantiniana, to God for his
Church, and to the pope for his habita-
tion. And he himselfe went to seeke a
new place of residence, and minding to
build now at Sardika, sometime at Sigeu,
and an other tyme at Chalcedon, he pit-
ched at the last in Constantinople.

Ado in
Chron.
An D.
334.

Zona-
ras to. 3.

66. So that by the euent it selfe we
may euidentlie see (if we list not to make
our selues blind) that the Citie of Rome
was specially exalted to that glory and
fame which it had, to the end Christes
Gospel might shine thence, and be ma-
nifestly sene and embraced throughout
all parts of the world. For, as Leo saith,
qua vnquam Gentes ignorarent, quod Roma
didicisset? What nations could euer be
ignorant of that, which Rome had
learned?

In nati-
uit Pet-
& Paul.

67. And therefore when the tyme was
come, that God would haue it knowen
to the faithfull, why he had made Rome
so great, he caused the Emperour him-
selfe to geue place to the Successour of
his Apostles. And wheras the Empire
being diuided, both the Emperour of

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the East and of the West, coueted to be called the Roman Emperour, yet neither of them both kept his continuall residence in Rome. But he of the East kept his court at Constantinople, the other of the West at Rauenna, Millan, Treuers, or in some other City: not that any place was like Rome, but because Christ would shew, that as the Empire of Rome was made to serue him, so the Seat thereof, should be the peculiar seat of his Vicar the Pope of Rome.

A sensible
miracle.

68. Vndoubtedly if euer any miracle was visible and palpable in al the world, this is one of them. The mighty Emperour of Rome forsaketh Rome, that is to say, the seat of his Empire, and a poore Bishopp taketh his place. Neither was euer anie Emperour afterward suffered of God, to make Rome his ordinarie mansion place. He was not suffered, I say. For what hart can conceaue, that they should not desire to liue specially, and to dwell in that City, whence they had their name, their Empire, and all their glory? But God would not haue it so, least his Vicare, and therby the glory of his Gospell, should be the more obscure, if the Emperour liued there with him.

Which is the true Church.

him. For as the Emperour made the Bishoprike of Constantinople glorious (which otherwise, as Zonaras recorderth, Zonar. Tom. 3. col. 8. was fallen to decaye, and the towne was made subiect to an other Bishopp of Thracia) so contrariwise God would haue it knowen, that the Bishop of Romes honor, depended not of men were they neuer so great) but of the power which Christ had geuen to S. Peter, whome he made the Rock *Whereupon the Church should be builded.* Mat. 16.

69. Neither hath Rome lost any thing by the departing of the Emperour. For as Leo doth witnesse, *Roma per sacram B. Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius praesidet religione diuina, quam dominatione terrena.* In natione Petri & Pauli. ser. 1. Rome by the meanes of the sacred Seat of S. Peter, being made the head of the world, doth gouerne wider by Gods Religion, then by earthly dominion: the very same thing saith Prosper of Rome also. Who seeth not, that the Italians, Frenchemen, Spaniardes, Portugals, Assyrians, Aethiopians, yea the Indians doe acknowledge the Bishop of Rome, for their Sheppard and Superiour, who yett will not acknowledge the Emperour of Rome at all. De uocat. Gēt. li. 2. c. 16 Per Apostolicum sacerdotij principatum.

The Preface concerning

70. The glory of the Bishop of Rome hath bene so great throughout all the Church, that the hereticks haue confessed, yea the most wrangling heretikes of our time haue bene constrained to confesse, that in all meetings at Generall Councils or other like, *the Prerogative of the first place did belong to the Bishops of Rome, to direct and order Bishops in their doings.* Which is a signe, that he was euer the greatest starre, candle, or light in the whole Church.

M. Iewel in
his Reply.
Fol. 241.
& 242.

1. Cor.
12.

A concessis.

71. And seing S. Paule doth liken the members of Christes Church to the members of a mans body, resembling some to eyes, other to eares, and others to the feete: If the Pope of Rome be confessed within the first six hundred yeres to haue had the firste place in the militant Church, and thereby to haue bene the cheefe member, I pray you (M. Iewel) what is the name of that member, which hath the first place in a mans body? Is it not the head? The Pope then by your confession is, yea in the old time was, the cheefe member, that is to say, the particular head of the militant Church, which is but one part of Christes vniuersall body and Church. But what neede I
reason

Which is the true Church.

reason vpon your confession?

72. The Church of Rome hath bene so notably knowen to be the head, the roote, the mother of all true Christians for the tyme then liuing, that among the auncient Fathers it hath bene all one to say (in matters of faith) *A Catholike*, or a *faithfull Roman*, A man of sound beleefe, or *one of the Roman beleefe*. S. Ambrose reporteth, that his brother Satyrus being desirous to know, whether the Bishop to whom he came were Catholike or no, asked him, *utrumnam cum Episcopis Catholicis, hoc est, cum Romana Ecclesia conueniret?* Whether he agreed with the Catholike Bishops, that is to say, with the Roman Church. As who should say, all is one to say, be you a Catholike, or be you of the Church of Rome, or as now men speake, a Papist? Againe, whereas Ruffinus had found fault with S. Hierom for translating some part of Origenes works into Latin, and yet the same Ruffinus had said before, that in the Latin translation of S. Hierom, nothing was *quod à fide nostra discrepet*, which might be diuerse frō our faith: S. Hierom asked, how Ruffinus meāt those wordes, *à fide nostra*, from our faith? For if he meant it of that faith

Ambro.
de officiis
fratris.

of

Hieron.
in Apo-
logia 1.
aduer-
sus Ruf-
inum.

The Preface concerning
of ours, which is the faith of the Romane
Church, then S. Hierom concludeth,
that he thereby is proued a Catholike.
Fidem suam quam vocat? Eamne qua Romana
pollet Ecclesia? Si Romanam responderit, ergo
Catholici sumus, qui nihil de Origenis errore
transſulimus. What doth Ruffinus call his
owne faith? Doth he meane that faith,
wherewith the Church of Rome florif-
heth? If the meane the Roman faith,
then we are Catholikes, as who haue
translated nothing of Origenes errours.
So that Saint Hierome accompreth the
Roman faith and the Catholike faith, al
one: verely because the Roman Church
hath had, and euer shall keepe the Ca-
tholike faith.

Victor.
de per-
secutio-
ne Van-
dal. l. 2,

73. Moreouer the Arrians called the
Catholiks in the old tyme Romans. For
when Theodoricus the sonne of *the king*
of the Vandals (which were Arrians) wold
haue killed Armogastes a Catholike, Io-
cundus the Priest of Theodoricus (being
likewise an Arrian) wished the Kings
sonne, not to kill Armogastes with the
sword, saying: *Si gladio peremeris, incipient*
eum Romani Martyrem predicare. If thou kil
him with the sword, the Romans wil be-
ginne to proclaime him a Martyr. Where
he

Which is the true Church.

he meaneth none other thing by the Romans, then the Catholiks. For they only would call him a Martyr, that should be killed of the Arrians, for their Catholike faithes sake.

74. A marueilouse honour which God hath geuen to the See and people of Rome, that after the faith of Christ was once preached there, and the Vicar of Christ was settled there, it should be all one to say, the Romans, or the Catholiks, the Romane Church, or the Catholike Church.

75. Howbeit, what wonder is it to see the Roman faith so much esteemed, seeing the Fathers haue alwayes beleued, that the Romane Church can not erre in the profession of their faith. Thereof S. Cyprian (after he had spoken of that principall Church, which by the meanes of S. Peters Chaire and Succession, is at Rome) writeth thus : *Ad Romanos perfidia habere non potest accessum*, Infidelity can haue no access to the Romans. Meaning such Romans, as tarie in the vnitie of S. Peters chaire, whereof he there speaketh. Likewise Pope Lucius affirmeth, that the Church of Rome, concerning the doctrine of the Apostles, *Illibata sine* Cyprianus l. i. epi. 3. In epi. decret.

genus

The Preface concerning

tenus manet, tarieth incorrupted euen vntill the end. Because our Sauour prayed, that *Peters faith might not faile*.

Luce 22

In anni-
uers.
alsūpti.
serm. 2.

In the
Seat of
S. Peter.
Luce 22
Mat. 16.
In epi-
stola ad
Faustū
& Ana.
August.
in epist.
190.

76. Pope Leo in many Sermons and Epistles prosecuteth this Argument, saying among other things. *Soliditas illius fidei, quæ in Apostolorum Principe est laudata, perpetua est* (& post) *Cuius in sede, sua viuit potestas, excellit autoritas*. The soundnesse of that faith which is praised in the chiefe of the Apostles, dureth still. But where? It followeth a litle afterward: *In S. Peters seate his power liueth, his authoritie excelleth*. There is then the faith which Christ prayed for: there is the confessiō against which hel gates shal not preuaile.

78. The same thing Gelasius teacheth, and cōfirmeth it by the same Scriptures. With him the Bishops of Spaine in their Epistle to Hilarius, Pope Agatho and Nicolaus the first agree. S. Bernard also writeth thus to Pope Innocentius. *Oportet ad vestrum referri Apostolatū &c.* All daungers and occasions of stumbling, such speciallie as chance concerninge the faith, ought to be referred vnto your Apostolike office. For I thinke it a worthy matter, that the defectes of the faith should there specially be made vp, *vbi non possit fides sentire defectum*, Where the faith

Which is the true Church.

can not faile, or feele defect. For that is the Pre-rogative of this seat. Or to Whom besides hath it bene said at any tyme, I haue prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith may not faile? therefore that Which followeth, is required of the Successour of Peter: Et tu aliquando conuersus, confirma fratres tuos, and thou being once conuerted, strenghten thy bretheren. Hitherto Saint Bernard. By whom (as also by the other Fathers) wee learne, that seinge the Bishops of Rome are the Successours of S. Peter, their faith can no more faile (whē their bretheren are to be confirmed) thē his could faile, after that Christ had prayed for him. For all the Priuileges, which we speake of, are not meant to be geuen to the Pope for his owne sake, but for the Churches sake, which is for the tyme built vpon his confession, & stayed vp by the strength which his principall chaire of vnitie hath in it, by the vertue of S. Peter.

79. In which only respect we beleue (as we haue bene allwaies taught) that the See of Saint Peter and the Church of Rome, is the head of all other Churches. Which truth was so commonly knowen in the old time, that not only none of the Clergie, but neither the Emperors could be

In the Church of Rome the faith can not suffer defect. Lucæ 22

Mat. 20.
Lucæ 22

The Preface concerning

be ignorant thereof. Therefore Iustinian

Cod de summa Trinitate lege 4. Victor lib. 2. de Peric. Vandal. writing to Pope Ioannes saith: *Sanctitas vestra, Caput est omnium sanctarum Ecclesiarum.* Your holines is Head of all holy Churches. Likewise Eugenius the Archebishopp of Carthage, feared not to say euen to the Arrian heretiks; *Romana Ecclesia caput est omnium Ecclesiarum.* The Church of Rome; is the head of all Churches.

80. The Bishop of Patara, being a Bishop of the East Church in Lycia, speaking to the Emperour Iustinian in the behalfe of Siluerius the banished Pope, saith: *there are many kings in this world, and there is not one king, as Siluerius is Pope, super Ecclesiam mundi totius,* ouer the Church of the whole world. In which wordes he declareth, the difference betweene the Kingdoms of the world, and the Church of Christ. The Kingdoms of al the world haue not one king ouer them all, as the Church of all the world hath one Pope ouer it all. There are (saith he) manie kings, and not one alone ouer all. But Siluerius is Pope ouer the Church of the whole world. And by the discourse it is euident, that he alone is Bishop ouer all the Church: ouer it, I say, alone, but not in it alone. For there are many Bishops in

Libertus in Breuiario c. 22.

No one king ouer all.

One Bishop ouer all.

Which is the true Church.

in the Church, and yet but one ouer all
the Church.

§1. It is farther also to be noted; that Justinian the Emperour, acknowledged this Bishops words to be true, because it was wel known to himselfe, that the Bishop of Rome was perelesse, and was *alone* Justinian the Pope over the Church of all the World; and yeldeth thereupon it repeated him, that he had banished *Siluerius the Pope*, and he willed him to be restored to Rome againe.

82. And yet M. Iewel is not ashamed In his
to alleage this fact of Iustinian, for a Reply.
proofe, *that the Emperour had somewhat to* Fol. 172
doe in the Church of Rome. As well he might
alleage the homicide and adulterye of
king Dauid, to proue that Dauid had
somewhat to doe with an other mās wife.
For as it repented kinge Dauid of his 2. Reg.
fault, so did it repent Iustinian of his ty- 11. & 12
rannie. For in deede he did that, which
he did therein, by force, and not by iudi-
ciall processe.

[illegible]

The Preface concerning
ruall causes, and alledging diuerse Con-
stitutions of the Emperours, among o-
ther things saith: *if the Diocese haue neither*
Metropolitane, nor Patriarche to Whome the
cause may be referred, that then the matter ought
to be heard, and to be determined of the Apo-
stolike See, quæ omnium Ecclesiarum caput est,
the Which Apostolike See (of Rome) is the head
of all Churches.

84. And note that he speaketh of such
a Head, as may iudge & determine the
controuerfies of whatsoeuer Church.
And therfore in an other place he saith,
that although all Bishops in respect of
humilitie be equall, yet if *any fault be*
found in the Bishops, I can not tell (saith he)
What Bishop is not subiect to the Apostolike
See.

Lib 7.
epi. 64.

85. For all the causes, and manie other
which I omitte, because they are in con-
trouerfie, and neede long discourses to
proue them: if euer any man (after the
Apostles) was sett vpp by Christ vpon a
Candelstick to geue light to the whole
howse of God, it is doutlesse the Bishopp
of Rome. So that in this miserable diui-
sion of Christes Church (which toward
the comming of Antichrist is like daily
to increase) thy onlie are safe, who fol-
low

Mat. 5.

2. Thes-
salon
cap 2.

Which is the true Church.

low that notable fame, glory, & knowen
authoritie of the Catholike faith, which
in all ages hath bene and is presently in
the Church of Rome, and in those Na-
tions, Countreies, and Cities, which haue
alwaies agreed with it, and with the Suc-
cession of the Bishops there. Wherein, as
Ireneus saith, *that tradition which came from
the Apostles, was alwaies kept.* Likewise S.
Ambrose saith, that the Church of Rome
alwaies kepeth the rule or belesse of the Apostles
undefiled.

August.
ad Ho-
noratū
de cre-
dendū
vul.

Iren. li.
3. cap. 3

Ambr.
ep. 81.

86. From this most principall, most
great, most auncient, most holy and fa-
mousse Church, from this Church, I say,
which is the head of all Churches, and al-
one with the Catholike Church (because
it being the rock can not erre, no more
then the whole Church of Christ can,
which is the pillar of truth) from thence
Fugatius and Damianus had their most
lawfull commission by Eleutherius the
Pope, to preach to king Lucius, and to
the other Britans, who are now called
Welshmen.

1. Ti. 3.
Ado in
Chron.
An. D.
286.

87. From Celestinus the Bishopp of Prof-
that notable Church, Germanus the Bis-
hop of Antisiodore was sent to our Cou-
trie, to roote out the Pelagian heresie,

Prof-
per in
Chron.
An. D.
432.

The Preface concerning
and to plant againe the Catholike faith
among the Britans.

Ado in
Chron.
An. D.
596.
Beda in
Ecclef.
hisor.

88. From that Church and City of Rome, the preachers of Christes Gospel came to the Saxons or Englishmen in the daies of Pope Gregorie the first, who sent Saint Augustine and his bretheren into England.

89. At whose Apostleshipp and coming to vs, those that now barck and enuie, declare themselues to be adders broods and vnnatural children, as who would destroe their owne spirituall Fathers, if they were able, and seeme to be forie that euer the realme was conuerted from idolatrie to Christ by those blessed Messingers.

Ado in
Chron.
630.

90. From Vitellianus the Bishopp of that see, Theodorus was sent into England, to instruct vs in matters belonging to Religion.

91. In the faith of that Church and in the companie of all Nations which acknowledged the Church of Rome, King Henry the eight found al England, Wales and Ireland, when he first began to change our faith, and to withdraw his obedience, from that See, whence the worde of life was brought vnto vs. And why

Which is the true Church?

why he withdrew his obedience, all the world knoweth, and therein it knoweth also, vpon what foundation this new Gospel now preached in England, was builded.

92. King Henrie ought not to haue gone out of the Roman Society, because of any vices which he found or saw there (for in a great house there are as well vessels of contumely, as of honour, and in our lords field, among the good corne, weedes and cockle grow) but he onely might haue departed out of the Roman Church, if he had found anie where els a more Auncient and true Church: As Saint Augustine went from the Manichees, to the Catholike Church. 2 Ti. 2.
Mat. 13.

93. But king Henrie knewe whence he went, and not whether he went. Which thing must nedes brede an infinite error and wandering in faith, as our Realme from that day forward hath had experience more then inough.

94. He that goeth out of one Church, as kinge Henrie and the Realme vnder him, went out of the Church of Rome, must either goe into an other Church already extant in the world, or make a new Church of his owne, or be cleane

One, or
none,
old or
new.

The Preface concerning
without a Church.

One.

95. King Henrie would not be without a Church, for he called himselfe, *the supreme head of the Church of England*, therefore he would haue some one Church.

96. Verily he went not into an other Church already extant any where: for he adioyned himselfe to no companie of faithfull men in all the earth, which had from Christes time liued after that profession of the faith which he then instituted and allowed. The Romane companie, which alone was the true Church, he forsoke and persecuted. Against Luther, and much more against Zuinglius, he caused the six Articles, to be made, many, or all which, Luther, Zuinglius, Caluin, and all their fellowes condemne as impious and wicked.

A new
church.

97. So that in king Henries time, it was taken for true and Catholike, that the Masse was a propitiatorie sacrifice. The communion in one kind was laudable. It was euerlasting damnation by the faith of his Church, to deny the real presence, or transubstantiation. On the other side, the Pope was not head of the militant Church (said he) and Monks might be put out of their cloisters.

98. If

Which is the true Church?

98. If that Church of kinge Henrie was the true Church, the present Church of England is a false church, because it teacheth doctrine cleane contrarie to that of king Henry. For it denieth transubstantiation, and the presence of Christes body vnder the forme of bread, and the externall Sacrifice of Christes body.

An o-
ther
newe
church,

99. If king Henry when he went from the Church of Rome, went not to anie other true Church, nay if he went to none other at al, but made and erected a new Church of his owne, where the faith began to be so professed no where els in all the earth: surely a Church newlie made and set vpp, a thow sand five hundred yeres and vppward after Christes ascension, can not be Christes Church. For his Church began at Ierusalem, and so increased, and continueth in the world for euer. Therefore the Church which king Henry erected now first in Englád, could not possibly be the true Church, wherein al men must be saued, who shalbe saued.

A false
church.
Act. 1,

100. If the realme were out of the true Church in king Henries time, it could not afterward haue the true Church, except it were reconciled againe to the

The Preface concerning

Recon-
ciliatio
necessa-
rie.

catholick Church of Christ, that is to say, to a company of faithfull men, as had alwaies kept and professed the true faith, from generation to generation, euen from the time of the Apostles. For so the Prophet foretold: *Populi confitebuntur tibi in aeternum*. Not one, but many Peoples or nations, shall geue praise to thee, not onlye for six hundred yeres together, but for euer.

No re-
concilia-
tion v-
fed.

101. In king Edwards time the realme was reconciled to none other more auncient Church, but went forward in buildind still a Church, newly deuised. For whereas the state of the realme of England was out of the true church in king Henries time: and consequentlie whereas the true church being somewhere in the world, was without the Realme of England, there was no publike order taken, whereby the realme should be vnited to any such auncient companie of Christiás, as were any where without the realme.

Foren
power
banis-
hed.

102. Yea rather it was prouided by all meanes, that *no foren power* from beyond the sea, should haue any thinge to doe in England, or in Wales, or in Ireland, concerning matters of Religion. And yet if Christ had anie church at all
(as

Which is the true Church.

(as vndoubtedly he had) surely it was professed without the realme of Englād, wheresoeuer it was professed. For in the realme it was not professed, except it be the true Church, to deny the supremacy of the Pope, and also to mainteine the Propitiatorie Sacrifice of the masse, which thing neither the Papist, nor the Protestant dare confesse.

103. How then could England, which kept out all forene power in spirituall matters, be reconciled to the Church of Christ, the power and authoritie whereof was without the realme? Or is *the power of being the sonnes of God, the power of preaching and of remitting sinnes no power?* Ioan. 1.
Ioan. 20

104. Againe, are we not bound by the Articles of our faith, not only to beleue, but also to *professe a holy Catholike Church?* For as *the hart beleueth to righteousness, so confession is made by the mouth to saluation.* Rō. 10.

What Church then did the realme of England professe vnder kinge Edward, more auncient then it selfe was? To what companie was it vnited? Whom did it acknowledge *for the pillar of truth?* Whether the word of God? That was surely wel done: but the word of God, is no more the faithfull men who make the Church, 1. Ti. 3.
The word of God is not the church.

The Preface concerning

Church of God, then the Statutes of England, are the men of England or citizens of London.

Geneua
is not
the true
church.

105. We must haue a companie of men shewed vs, to which we that were out of the Church in king Henries time (by all mens confession) may be afterward reconciled and vnited. Those men professed Christes faith in one place or other. Where was that? At Geneua? Nay, that profession beganne about the same time, that king Henries did. And therefore they could not be that auncient Society, who had professed the faith from time to time, so as their forefathers had done, euen vntil we come vp to the Apostles.

The age
of the
true
church.

106. The like may be said of Zuinglius at Zurich, and of Luther at Wittemberg. These companies all beganne within these three score yeres, but Christes company which hath borne his name, is fifteene hundred yeres old and vpward.

No re-
conci-
liation.

107. Moreouer, if it were possible for the company of Lutherans, or Zuinglians, or Caluinists to be the true companie of Christes Church, yet the realme was no more reconciled to them, then to the Anabaptists, or to the Swenckfeldians. For what publike order was taken, that
anie

Which is the true Church.

anie vnion should be made betweene our realme, and anie other in all the world? What Embassadge went to and fro?

108. In all reconciliations he maketh supplication, or at the least he submit-
teth himselfe and desireth to be recea-
ued, who hath swarued and wandered. In
so much that he vsed to offer vpp to his
Catholick Bisshepp a libell of his repen-
tance, and of confession of the true
faith, as Vrsicius and Valens did to Iu-
lius the Bishopp of Rome. As likewise
Maximus, Vrbanus, Sidonius and Ma-
carius were reconciled to S. Cyprian.

Nice-
phorus
lib. 9.
cap. 27.
Cypri. l.
2. ep. 12.

109. Did our realme submit it selfe to
Luther, to Zuinglius, or to Calvin? Did
it offer a libel of repentance to any Bis-
hop? It is euident, that we neuer medled
with Luther. For we neuer yet receaued
the doctrine of the real presence of Chri-
stes body together with bread, so as the
Lutherans teache it.

We
went
not to
Luther;

110. Now Calvin and Zuinglius came
out of Luthers church. For he was their
auncesvor, and brake with the Pope of
of Rome (to whom all they were once
subiect) before then, and first professed
that Gospel, which afterward they did
allow and embrace.

Caluin
came
from
Luther.

The Preface concerning

Caluin
is not
of our
church
in Eng-
land.

In A-
mos c. 7
in Ose 1

No true
church
in Eng-
land.

111. Last of all, if the Realme in kinge Edwards tyme, had submitted it selfe to Caluin, he would not haue admitted the to his fellowship, except the King wold first haue spoiled himselfe of the title *of being supreme head of the Church of England*. For Caluin teacheth it to be a beastly thing, for any temporal Prince to arrogate to himselfe to be supream head of anie one particular Church of Christ. And affirmeth those that gaue such counsell to kinge Henry (and consequentlie those that continued in geuing the same counsell to kinge Edward) to be blasphemers.

112. But seing king Edward kept the said title all his time, it is cleere that the realme vnder king Edward was not reconciled, or vnited in profession of the faith to any companie out of England in all the world. And consequently, that either the Church of England alone professed Christes faith (and then also it should haue bene professed scant six, yea scant three yeres together) or els that the realme of England was out of that true Church and company of faithfull men, which according to Gods word professed Christes true faith.

113. When

Which is the true Church.

113. When Queene Mary came to the crowne, she found the Realme (as it now appereth) out of the true Church, and therefore she hastened to reduce it vnto the true Church againe, and submitted herselfe and the Realme (as much as lay in her) to the Pope of Rome, whose Authoritie her father had vniustly banished.

Recon-
ciliati-
on to
Rome.

114. The Pope sent in his Legate Cardinal Poole of blessed memory, who reconciled the realme to that Apostolicke seate of Peter, whence we had taken our faith by S. Augustine the Apostle of the Englishmen. And the parliament (for great reasons which were then alleaged by the right worshipfull Prolocutor and others) accepted the Legacie, and submitted it selfe to the See of Rome.

115. That seat of Peter, hauing dured from the tyme of Claudius the Emper-
Rome, hath had *two hundred and thirtie* Bishops, or vppward, who had allwaies not only the Christiáns of that City or of Italy, but of many Countries and Nations agreeing with it in the profession of Christes faith. Therefore it is the true Church of Christ, as in the which and in the Nations obeying it, *the faith was ne-*

Hieron.
in Cata-
logo.

The Preface concerning

Englād
Catho-
like.

uer changed these fiftene hundred yerestog-
gether, whiles those Nations obeyed that
Apostolike seate. And consequently in
Queene Maries tyme the Realme was re-
conciled to the true Church of Christ.

Englād
Schis-
matical
againē.

116. Seing now the realme is againe
departed from the companie of all na-
tions, which haue allwaies communica-
ted in professinge their faith with the
Church of Rome, and seing the same
hath not submitted it selfe to any other
auncient companie of faithfull men;
which may haue a lineal descent in pro-
fessing the Christian faith from the Apo-
stles time: and seing the realme agreeth
not with the Lutherans in beleuinge the
real presence, nor with the Calvinists;
because the title of supream gouerne-
ment in spiritual matters is reteined stil:
it must needes follow, that our realme is
not only separated from the most aun-
cient and true Church of God (the visibler
Head whereof is at Rome) but also that
it is a company which professeth its faith
a part from all the world, not acknow-
ledging anie Church more auncient or
better directed, then it selfe is.

117. I am not ignorant, that if this
matter might be ripped vp to the vtter-
most,

Which is the true Church.

most, and as it ought to be in truth and conscience, so I meane, that the thoughts of all harts might be opened and reuealed, I am not then ignorant, that the vttermost refuge of the Protestants must of necessity be, that *Christes Church is inuisible*, and agreeth only in hart betweene it selfe, and that the outward rule to make it agree, is the word of God written in the old and new Testament, so farre at the least as they list to allow it.

The last
refuge.
Of hereticks.

118. By this only meane al may seeme to be safe. And so albeit the whole realme of England be schismatical, and that by some of theyr owne hartie thincking, and by the last resolutions of some that are best learned: yet (thinke they) one of vs agreeth in his hart with an other, and after this sort, one knitteth himselfe in hart to the Lutherans, an other to the Calvinists, the third to the Anabaptists, the fourth to the Trinitaries. And as for outward profession, they must imagine it to be inough, that Gods word be professed to be the supreme iudge, though none of them neither know the meaning thereof, nor be ruled by it, and that the Pope of Rome be denied to be the chiefe iudge vnder Christ, and then all is safe according

A church
vnder a
bushel.

*The Preface concerning
Singing to their false imagination.*

119. But if the preaching of Gods word
 Rō. 10. be the ground of all beliefe (*for faith is by hearing and hearing is by preaching*) and if the preacher must needs preach the
 Act. 20. whole truth openinge the whole counsell of God, and dissembling no part therof (otherwise he deceaueth the people) if the
 Mat. 28 celebrating of the Sacraments, must be
 Acto. 2. of that effect, to shew vs the church in outward deede, which preaching is of an outward word: it ought to be graunted, that there is a continuall known outward profession of christianity, and of the faith by preachinge and by administering the Sacraments.

Open
 preaching
 Ephes 4
 Isai. 62. Now Christes Gospel was prophecied of, that it should be preached in all nations. For *the sound of them is gonne out into all the earth:* and as the church hath still *Pastours and teachers*, so it must still haue preachers, whose sound may go forth into many nations of all the earth. For *Isaias* likewise saith, *upon thy walls (ō Ierusalem) I haue set watchmen, they shall not hold their peace all day, nor at night for euer.* Where were these preachers of this new religion before Luther? Where, I say, were they throughout all nations? How went their
 sound

Which is the true Church.

found throughout all the earth? Surely they were vnder a bushel, and not vpon the Candelstick. They were heard neither in the East, nor in the West Church. And yet the glory of Christes Church must be so great, that, as Isaie saith, *Nations shall walke in the light of Christ, and Kings in the Brightnes of his rising* Such nations the Roman Church alwaies had, & such kings. it had from the time of Constantine the great vntil this day. But this present religion of England, had not many Nations nor Kings who professed it, before these fiftie yeres.

ai. 60.

121. Againe, the true Church must be honoured and nourished, by Kings, as Isaie sheweth. But the Church of Englād honoureth kings as her supreme heads, and with her goods nourisheth them and their Courtiers.

Isai. 60.

122. Farthermore, concerning the written Word of God, it is in deede honourable; and true. But as there was a church of Christ aboue two thousand yeres before any word of the whole Bible was written: and as Christ had a Church in Ierusalem and in Antioche before any of the fower Gospels was penned: and as afterward the word of God was preached, in-

The Church of time before the written word.

The Preface concerning

terpreted and expounded alwaies by the Ministers of Gods Church: so the written worde of God, presupposeth a Church whereunto it is geuen, and wherein it is preferred.

Whence
the writ-
ten word
came.

123. The Romane Church therefore which preached, kept, deliuered and expounded the Gospel to vs, and whence the Lutherans, Zuinglians, Anabaptists and Caluinists, had it in Latin, and the Greeke Church whence they had it in Greeke, must preache the faith vnto this new Congregation of Christian men, if they wil vse the word of God as they ought to doe.

The a-
buse of
Gods
word.

124. But to take the booke into their own handes, & thence to frame a church which neuer was before, and which then presently is not in the world, when they beginne to reade the bible: it is much like, as if one readinge the old Chronicles, Lawes, and Statutes of England, would gette him with a companie of as wise men as himselfe were, into one desolate Iland or other, and saie stoutly, that it now kept the true Lawes and Ordinaunces of Egland. And that the knownen Countrie which is named England, is a forged thing, which is depar-
ted

Which is the true Church.

ted from old England. But that he now wil restore all (that will follow him) to the true succession of king Arthur and of Brutus.

125. The prophets, Isaie, Ieremy, Daniel, Esdras or Nehemias, did not take the law of Moyfes into their handes (as these men doe now the new Testament) and so conclude with themselves, *the Church of Ierusalem erreth in this point, and in that point*, in this practise, and in that practise, and it is ful of Idolatry, and of superstition, and therefore I wil renounce the gouernment of the high Bishop, and depart from it, and call to me a new cōpanie, where the law of God shalbe perfectly professed, according to the written word of God. No, no, the Prophets neither said, nor did so. For then that new Church had bene the Church of this, or of that Prophet, and it had not bene the auncient Church of God, which had dured from the beginning. Euen so now, it is not lawful to take a new Testament into your handes, and so to finde abuses in that principal Church of Rome, & therevpon to deuise a new Church, as Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and Brentius haue done.

Note:
Well

The Preface concerning

Rom. 1. 126. It is euident, that the Church of Rome was once a principall member of the Church of God, because *the faith of the Romans was preached in the whole world.*

Ambr.
de obi-
tu fra-
tris.

It is euident, that the succession of Popes and of other Christians in Rome, hath with lesse interruption continued there, then euer the like did in Ierusalem befor Christes comming. It is euident, that in the old tyme the Romane faith was accompted the Catholike faith. No change of faith in Rome can be shewed at anie time. But the Pope and Citty had continued stil in profession of the same faith vntil this day. Now euill manners must not cause vs to depart from any Church. Therefore we ought to returne againe to the Church of Rome, as to the chiefe member of the Catholike Church, vnder the paine of euerlasting damnation.

Mat. 23.

127. I haue declared more briefly then such a weighty matter did require, that seing Christ hath a church, & his church is that vnto him in this world, which a great kingdome is vnto a great Prince, that his Church can not be hidden by anie meanes, least his glory be lesse among men, then the glory of a worldly king is. For Christ came into the world

A know-
wen
church.

Math 5

Which is the true Church.

to make the name of his father gloriouse among me, euen to the outward apparéce, as well as to the inward holinesse. Ioā. 12.
& 17.
Rō. 11.

128. The waies to see and heare the Church of Christ, is to see and heare the gouernors of his Church, with the people that obey them and agree with them. Bishops
and Pa-
stours. And as by that meanes the Writers of the stories in the first six hundred yeares, so the later writers haue alwaies described vnto vs Christes true, visible and gloriouse Church. 1/ai 60.

129. The most notable Bishopp or Pastour that euer was in Christes Church, was and is the Bishop of Rome, both for the Imperial City where he liueth, and the which not without the miraculouse worck of God, was by the first Emperour, who professed openly our faith, leste vnto him, and also for the honour and for the succession of the chiefe Apostles, Peter and Paule: for the number of martyrs & Saints in that See, the propheticall testimony of S. Paule, & of the auncient Fathers geuen to the faith of the Romans: for the number of Bishops, of nations, of Kings, yea of General Councels who alwaies agreed with the Bishop of Rome in the profession of The
Bishop
of Ro-
me.
Ado.

Eges-
pus.
Opta-
rus.
Rom 1.
Ireneus
Hiero-
nymus.

e 3

the

The Preface concerning

**Grego-
sius.**

**Englād,
Germa-
nie, Bo-
hem**

Leo 3.

**Gela-
sius**

**Leo 2.
Victor.**

**Iustiniā.
Bernar-
dus.**

**Whēce
we wēt**

**Whi-
cher we
went.**

the faith: for the Priuilege of not inuen-
ting at anie time anie heresie, or profes-
sing anie heretical assemblie: for conuer-
sion of infidels to the faith, and the con-
tinuall flourishinge of that see vntill this
hower. That Bishop transferred the Em-
pire, was appealed vnto by Bishops and
Patriarchs, confirmed Councels, and sent
his Legates into all Prouinces, and that
church is accompted al one with the Ca-
tholike church, and the Romans, that is
to saie, those who obey the Bishopp of
Rome, are as much to say as the Catho-
likes: it is Head of all Churches, and can
not erre in the doctrine of faith.

130. Therefore when we departed from
it, we departed from the greatest light or
candle that euer Christ after his Apostles,
did set vpon any Candelsticke in all the
church. And we went we can not tel why-
ther, but in deede we went to our phanta-
sie, & idle braines. One imagining out of
that which he toke to be the meaning of
Gods word, one kind of Church: an other
imagining an other kind: But al are out of
the right way, except we returne to that
Church, which hath bene spread alwaies
throughout al Nations, whereof the Bis-
hop of Rome is head, who sitteth in the
chaire

Which is the true Church.

chaire of S. Peter, to whome *the sheepe and lambs of God were commiteed*, without whose fold there is no meane of saluation.

131. This much I thought good to warne the Reader of, least he should thinck, that because I wrire at large only of Images, that therfore those points only were to be considered, whereas all (as it were in a short word) is comprised in the acknowledging and professing of the true church. For there is contained the word of God, the preaching of the Gospel, the true Sacraments, the forgeuenes of sins, the holy Ghost, the communion of Saints, & Christ himselfe, who is the head of his only one mysticall body, & the Sauour thereof.

Ephes. 1
& 5.

132. If at the length thou art persuaded (good Reader) that Christ hath euer had and stil must haue a companie of many Nations professinge his faith vnder faithful Bishops and teachers: and that, none other such companie can be named; which is in any point so like to be the true Church, as that which beinge spread throughout all nations, hath euer had his principall Chaire and Priestly Vnity in the See of S. Peter, and in the Cittie of Rome: It remaineth, that the said companie of Christians, must be not only be-

Cyp ep.
3. lib. 1.

The Preface concerning

Re. 20. leued in hart, but also *confessed in mouth*,
and professed in all our dedes, which ap-
perteine to the worshipping of one God
by Iesus Christ our Lord. For as God
made the whole man, to wit, as wel the
bodie as the soule, & as Christ redeemed
& wil glorifie the whole man: so must the
whole man confesse God and Christ, and
all that belongeth to God or to Christ.

Ofc 1.
Cant. 6.

133. Certainly nothinge belongeth
more specially to Christ, then his owne
deere spouse the church, which he hath
taken to be his wife. In so much that in
our Crede and belefe after the profession
of our faith in God the Father, in the
Sonne, and in the holie Ghost, it follow-
eth immediatly, *Credo sanctam Ecclesiam*
Catholicam, I beleue the holie Catholike
church. As therefore if a Prince loue his
wife entirely, he will neuer accompt him
his frinde, who vseth the companie of
that person, which is a professedemie
to his deere wife: euen so Christ can neuer
take him to be his faithful frind or seruāt,
who vseth to frequent such a Congrega-
tion, as is purposedie erected against his
owne wife and Spouse, which I haue shew-
ed to be the Societie of Catholikes. And
how soeuer the hart of that man thinc-
keth

Which is the true Church.

keth it selfe to be affected toward God,
who goeth to theise false congregations:
surelie his fact in goinge to them is so
flaunderous, that if the hart it selfe were
thoroughlie examined, it could not iusti-
fie its owne demeanour. For it diuideth
one man into twaine, setting the hart in
one companie, and the bodie in an other:
as though anie man could goe to church,
except his hart and mind caried his bo-
die thither. If then the mind will not be
without the body (because it is not as yet
disposed to die) doubtlesse the minde is cō-
tent to be where the body is, and conse-
quently, the minde is content to be at
such a congregation or church Seruice,
as it beleueth to be impious and wicked.
And by that meanes he that wold not be
at the schismaticall seruice, and yet is
there, deserueth more anger of God by
his being there, then fauour by the desier
which he hath to be absēt. For he maketh
void his owne good desier, by putting the
contrary in execution. And yet because
his desier is good, let him not leaue it, but
let him endeouour fully to accomplish &
to make persfite his good desier, by lea-
uing of his euil custome.

134. O lamentable case of our Coun-
trie,

The Preface concerning

trie, and great ouersight, in that it hath not bene more earnestly opened and looked vnto. But it is lesse euil, to know and to consider it now, then neuer. And they may be happy, who hearing of it in this life, may yet amend from hence-foorth.

3. Reg.
18.

How long balt yee (saith Elias) *betweene two sides?* If this new sprung Congregation be Christes Church, then doe as the professed enemies of the Roman Church commaund you to doe. But if the Catholike societie (whereof Rome is the high Mother Church) be the only spouse of Christ, then leaue the false tents, the feined tabernacles, and the detestable Congregations of her ennemies, and follow her alone.

Euseb.
lib. 6.
cap. 28.

135. Remember that it is an old condemned heresie of the Helchesites, to thinck, that a man may beleue one thing, and speake or professe an other. S. Augustin also disputing of true Religion, findeth great fault with the old Philosophers, because whereas they in their scholes, held cleane contrary opinions of God, and of the highest goodnes, and of the last end of all things: yet they came al to one Church or temple, and there professed in their publike seruice that,
which

Which is the true Church.

which was cōtrarie to their priuate talke
and doctrine. *Scholas habebant dissentientes*, Cap. 1.

& *templa communia*, they dissented in schoo-
les, and agreed in Church. Now Saint
Augustin iudged that errour so great,
that he douted not to saie: If we saw this
fault only, healed by Christian discipline, no man
ought to denie, but it were a thing to be set
forth with vnspokeable praise. For so it is be-
leeued and taught, that whose doctrine we ap-
proue not, they do not communicate in Sacra-
ments with vs. Which thing (saith he) is lesse
to be wondered at in those hereticks, who or-
der the Sacraments otherwise then we doe (as
the Manichees and some other did) but
it is much more to be noted, in such hereticks, as
keeping the same Sacraments which we haue, yet
because in other points they dissented from the
Catholickes, were not admitted to the Catholicke
communion, but had their proper conuenticles
and names, as Photinians, Arians, and other
like. This much S. Augustine saith in ef-
fect, for it was too long to turne euerie
word as it lay. Which thing if it be ap-
plied to our realme, are not the opinions
and Scholes contrarie? Doth not one say,
the bodie of Christ is present in the Sacrament
of the altar, and the other teache, that it
is not present there? Will you then, who
beleue

De vera
relig.
cap. 5.

The Preface concerning

belecue it to be present, come to his sermon, to his seruice, yea to his Communion, who teacheth openly, that Christes bodie is not present? At the least will you geue him the looking one, or the standing or sitting by whiles he ministreth in the church?

136. Consider now, that these men doe not only dissent from you in Schooles, but also that they haue made a new kind of Church Seruice, and haue condemned the old seruice, which (in the substantial points) was receaued more then fifteen hundred yeres past throughout all Christendome: as in the Sacrifice of Christes bodie and blood, in the adoration and Reseruatiō thereof, with the rest of the holie Sacraments. And yet may ye come to this new religion with a safe conscience? Surely then ye may denie the Catholike Church with a safe conscience, as trulie your deede doth in part denie it.

Note

137. And whereas there is a rumour spread by certaine men, that this going to schismaticall Seruice is, or may be wincked at, or dispensed in the Catholikes, of certaintie it is not so. But rather by this keycold demeanour of the Catholicks, we may perceauē how iust God was

in

Which is the true Church.

in punishing them with heresie, in whome he saw so litle true and hartly faith, that for feare of a small temporall losse, they can be content to put in hafard their euerlasting saluation. The disease is great, it needeth a sharpe medecine.

138. S. Gregorie telleth a notable story of one S. Ermigild sonne to Liuigild, who was kinge of the Wisigothes in Spaine. This Ermigild being conuerted to the Catholike faith by *S. Leander of Spoleso*, chose rather after prisonment and chaines, to die by the sword at his owne fathers commaundement, then to receaue the communion at the hand of an Arrian Bishop. At whose body when his wicked Father saw miracles wrought, although he repented his owne deede. yet for feare of his people (which were most of them Arrians) he durst not professe that Catholike faith, wherein his sonne had died. But when the father was dead, his other sonne Richard being brother to the blessed Martyr Ermigild, both himselfe became Catholike, & turned also his whole Country and nation to the Catholike faith. So that the euent shewed his Father to haue bene in a vaine feare. Who if he would haue professed the Catholike faith,
he

Dial. 1.
cap. 31.

The Preface concerning

he should aswell haue found his subjects redy to haue ben made Catholikes as his son found them. Wel: S. Gregory concludeth the historie, shewing that the confession and Martyrdome of Ermigild, was a meane before God, why his brother and all the countrie became Catholike.

139. If it were so, what slaunder & sinne haue they fallen into, who by dissembling to professe their faith, haue prouoked manie others to schisme and heresie? Whereas if we had plainly confessed the same, other men had not onlie saued themselves, but also the whole countrie, as it may be thought, had bene preferred in the true faith.

140. How many now see this in another world, who wold leese more then a thousand worlds, landes, and liues, that they might haue time in this world to amend their former fault? And surely when all is done, none escape better, nor liue more merilie, then those who are fullie resolved to professe their faith plainlie & boldlie. Their conscience must needs be most quiet, their honesty most esteemed, and their libertie in this world is not much lesse, and in the world to come it is infinitely greater, then any other shall haue.

Which is the true Church.

haue. If the mind once (calling for grace) be at this point, the matter is not so hard, as it semeth. He that wold be content to die in his bedd when God should cal him, & he that considereth that God may call him euery hower, neede no more bewoful, how his wife or children should do, if he were banished, or lay in prison, then he would be woful how they should doe, if God had called him out of this world.

141. If it be possible for them to liue wel, and himselfe to die, may not they much more do wel, if he were but onlie in prison? Or thinketh any man, that any prison, be it neuer so cruel, is worse then hel? God kepe vs all thence. Is it worse then Purgatorie? No, no: all the paine of this world is but painted, in respect of that which is to come.

142. If I wrote to flater my countrie-men, I could write of other things more plausible. But if I may prouoke anye one man to true penance (as I beseech God I may) I am content to beare the displeasure of the rest, and to be accompted as it shall please euery man to thinke of me. I am sure if euer the faith shalbe recovered, it must be done by confessing & professing it, and not by dissembling, whoseuer

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whosoeuer hath reade the Ecclesiasticall stories, and Canons, may quickly perceane, that we ought to haue no fellowship in mariage, in prayer, and in al the seruice of God with those men, whose religion we mislike. So the Canon of the Apostles, and the Councel of Laodicea teache vs, and the example of the Primitive Church.

Gen. 6.
2. Cor. 6
Cant
Apost.
63.
Laod.
Can 9.
10 31.
32. 33
Sozomenus
lib 8.
cap 3.

143. This may suffice to him, that visible warned: others shall know (I feare me) at the later day, what it is *to beleue the Catholik Church*: whether it be to reade only, or to speake that which it beleueth, or els to practise also and to doe that which the Catholike Church doth, and commaundeth to be done: *The doers of the law shalbe iustified, and not they that beare it only.* God change their harts, who thinck God wilbe serued otherwise outwardly then inwardly: God strengthē the weak in faith, and increase grace and knowledge in them, that are desirouse to fulfil his commaundements: To whom be all honour and glorie for euer. Amen.

Rom. 2.



THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

GEntle Reader, for sundry reasons haue I thought good, to publish a new, and to present vnto thee this most worthy and most learned worke of Doctor Sanders, his treatise of Images. First, that the labour of so learned a man, should not utterly perish, nor lye any longer in obscuritie, as many other learned works, written by our Catholique Doctors, now haue done for many yeares, which by Gods assistance I haue resolved likewise to set forth anew. Secondly, for that this question of Images, seemeth still a great stumbling block, to our aduersaries, especially to the simple sort: and hath by none of our side, been more clearly & more excellently handled, in our English tongue, then by this Author. Thirdly, that all the world may

see, especially those that at this present remaine peruerse in beleeuing this point, how evidently their heresie was confuted, and quite confounded by Catholiques, at the very first vprising therof, and the very best champions of Protestant Religion (I meane Master Iewell, whose Writinges also against our Catholique Doctōrs haue bene reprinted) quite silenced and conuincēd. Fourthly, that thou maist by the helpe herof, the better defend thy selfe, and be the more confirmed in thy holy faith, and withall, wonder at the blindnes and hardnes of Protestants harts, who haue so long, and yet doe still oppugne a doctrine so clearly proued, and be moued to pray for them, that God would effect that by his grace, which can not be done by human industrie: wherein I will not fayle to ioyne with thee. And so I bid thee hartely farewell.

A TREATISE OF THE
IMAGES OF CHRIST, AND
OF HIS SAINTES, AND THAT IT
is vnlawfull to breake them, and lawfull
to honour them, &c.

*The Argument of the Treatise
following.*

THE I. CHAPTER.

MY Purpose at this time, is to Answer
were an Obiection moued by cer-
taine Protestantes, concerning the
late Proceedings of the Lowe
Countries. Which Proceedings (they say) The ob-
iection.
must needs come from the mighty hand of
God, sithens a few naked and base men, haue
both cast downe Idolatrie there, and obte-
ined permission to preach the Gospell, against
the pleasure of the greatest Christian Prince
that is in these our dayes: against the will of
an infinite number of riche Monkes, Friers,
and Priests: against the desire of the multitu-
des of common people, which are for the
most part all geuen to the old Religion. If
then it be aboute the course of natural woor-
kes, for a small number of weake men, to
A 3 throw

throw downe Idoles, and to spread Gods word contrary to the indeuour of Princes, of Prelats, of Cities, of Countries: it seemeth that the doing therof is euen the same strong power of Christ, whereby in old time the twelue Apostles being poore, and ignorant men, conuerted all nations to the worshipping of one God, and of his sonne Iesus our Lord. Thus some of the Protestants doe reason.

The answer.

This Argument maketh the preaching and deedes of our new Gospellers, like vnto the preaching and deedes of the Apostles: the miracle in conuerting mens hartes, to be in both all one: the Images of Christ and of his Saints, to be like to the Idoles of the Gentils and Paynims: and consequentlie it presupposeth God to be not onlie the permitter of these alterations, but also the worker of them, for his glorie, and our saluation. But if I proue their preaching to be vnlawfull, their deedes to be vnhonest, the pretended miracle of their working, to be a heinous Sacrilege, our Images not onlie to be no Idols, but although they had bene Idols, yet to be vnlawfullie cast downe: it wil remaine, that God permitteth this great mischiefe for our great sinnes, and worketh no miracle at all. And surelie it is so easie a matter to confute this fond reason of the

Pro-

testants; that the verie telling of the fact, will be a sufficient confutation of the miracle, which is pretended to be shewed therein.

To beginne with the first occasion of this spoile, not longe after S. Iohn Baptist his Feast, in the yeere of our Lord 1566. certain men taking aduantage aswell of the busines which was betweene King Philip, and the Lords of the low Countries (concerning an Inquisition against heresie) as also of the businesse which they thought should haue bene betweene King Philip and the great Turke (concerning the Kingdome of Naples and Malta) certain men, I saie, wayting such an oportunitie of time, flocked together in the woodes, and fieldes nighe vnto Antwerp, there to heare such a man preach, as neither was sent to them by their owne Bishop, nor authorised by anie Archbishop or Patriarche superiour to their Bishop, nor called by anie Magistrate, or lawfull officer. The which preaching although it were a little checked by edictes and proclamations, yet not being remoued by force, caused as well moe preachers to gather about that and other cities of Flanders and Brabant, as also moe hearers to come vnto their sermons, in so much that within one moneth, manie thousandes were found to resort vnto this

The storie of the spoile in the low countries,

new preaching wherof some strāge fruit must
needes grow in time, sithēs that wild maner
of preaching hath not bene wont to be vsed,
where the whole people of the Countrie is
christened, vnlesse it be in the time of warre.

The
sects in
the low
coun-
tries.

And surelie a time of warre it was, not
onlie because these numbres of men did all
make battaile against the house of God, and
his deere Spouse the Catholike Church, but
also because one preacher kept warre with
an other, for one was a Lutheran, an other a
Caluinist. And how could this audience lack
an Anabaptist, sith the cheefe comming to-
gether of such a sorte of beggarlie vagabūds,
was to haue a good pretēse to steale, to picke,
and to make all things common? Now the
companie of Anabaptistes lacking peace in
their harts, haue taken this name vpon them,
to be called, the howse of peace.

Ioan. 10.

To go forward with the mater, the blef-
sed feast of the *Assumption of our Ladie* was
now come, wherein the towne of Antwerpe
should keepe their Church holy daie, as both
the Iewes kept yerely the Dedication or Re-
nouation of their Temple (whereat Christ
himselſe was) and the Christians also haue
vsed to doe the like. But this feast of the
Assumption, these new preachers their scho-
lers can not allow, I maruell much why? For
if they keepe holy the daie wherein *S. Paule*

Image breakers.

of S. Thomas the Apostle departed out of this world, how much more ought they to celebrate the day, wherein our Blessed Ladie was dissolued and made present with God in his glorie? Except perhaps shee must fare the woorse with those, who hate the reall presence of Christes Body vnder the forme of bread, because she bare and brought forth the same naturall body of Christ, which they persecute. May we then Celebrate the day of S. Paules glorious death, although it be not found in scripture how or when he died: and may we not keepe a like remembraunce of the death of the Mother of God?

Would God they had onely abstained from keeping holy her Feast, but they are so farre from sanctifying her memory, that they prophaned it most horribly. For the xx. day of August, whiles the Ostaues of the said Feast was yet a celebrating (by those blessed Generations, who accompt Christes Mother holy and blessed) these new Gospellers came into our Ladies Church at Antwerpe, about siue of the clocke after diner. The beginning of their purposed mischief, was committed to a Boye, who with a wand comming into the chappell of our Ladie strooke her Image, saying, *Marie thou must come down.* At which voice, as it were at a watchword, the falsse bretheren approched neere, those
The
daye.
The
watche
word,
that

that were sette to keepe the Chappell, cried out, others called the chiefe Magistrate, whose request and commaundement these new Gospellers no more regarded, then they doe the worde of God, which biddeth them,

2. Pet. 1. *Obeie the king, and the officers Whom he sendeth.*

Neither can it serue for their excuse, as though the officer forbidding them to spoile the Church, willed them to do against the commaundement of God, sithens it is also against the commaundement of God, *to steale*, to spoile, to iniurie or hurte any priuate or publike treasure, against their wils to whom it belongeth. And certainly the goodes of the Church, euen by the common law of Nations, are holy and sacred. So that it is no common theft to laie handes vpon them wrongfully.

Thema-
act.

Which notwithstanding, these fresh followers of this new preaching, threw downe the grauen, and defaced the painted Images, not onlie of our Ladie, but of all others in the toun. They tare the Curtaines, dashed in peeces the carued workes of brasle, and of stone, brake the Alters, spoiled the clothes and corporelles, wrested the irons, conueied away or brake the Chalice, and vestiments, pulled vp the brasle of the grauestones, not sparing the glasse windowes, and seates which were made about the pillers of the Church.

Churches for men to sitte in.

What shall I speake of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, which they trode vnder their feete; and (horrible is to say) shed also On their stinking pisse vpon it, as though, if it were not Christes owne bodie, it were not by their owne doctrine, a mysticall figure of his bodie. Or if it be not so, yet at the least a creature of God, which of purpose ought not to be spitefully handled. A greater fault in truth can not be named, then this was, but to them who esteeme the tremend Misteries for prophane Idols, it seemeth more greuous, that these false brethren burned and rent, not only al kind of Church bookes, but moreouer destroied whole Libraries and bookes of all sciences and tongues, yea the holy Scriptures, and the Auncient Fathers, and tore in peeces the Maps, and charts of the descriptions of Countries.

Is this all? They brake in pieces the Friers kitchen stuffe, and all manner of vessell. They shed their Wine and Beere, after they had drunke thereof more then inough, they melted their butter barrells, caried away their beds, their linnen, the lockes of their dores, rooted vp the herbes of their garden, and which passed all, they brought their strumpets in great number with them amōg those Filthie
brethre that had vowed chastitie, omitting neither words

words nor deedes, wherby they might prouoke the yong Monkes and Friers to cast of their straight rule, and to come to their voluptuouse and pleasant life.

The
prea-
cher.

But what? These were a few loiterers (some man will say) and they did that which their graue preachers allowed not. O Sir, as there were of these robbers so many as spoyled in one night aboue twenty Churches & Chappels, so they had for their Capitaine, one Hermannus, who hauing bene a regular Chanon, and being long since runne out of his Cloister, had now also lost one of his eares (beside a marke vpon his Backe) for a robbery committed about Cleuelande.

This Hermannus, manned or rather mairstred the Church spoilers, and euery where prouoked the Monks, Friers, and Nunnes, to come from their seuere Religion, to his sweet Doctrine.

Prayer.

He came (among other places in Antwerp) to the Nunnes of S. Clares, which be of S. Frauncis order, whom when he beganne to persuaade, that they should go out of their Cloister, they fell doune prostrate, and gaue them selues to prayer: whereupon immediatlie Hermannus gaue ouer his exhortation, crying to his fellowes, *away, away. I am able to say no more.* It is verely thought, that through the Nunnes prayer, his mouth

was

was stopped.

Thus were the Churches and Monasteries of Antwerpe sacked, the example and impunitie whereof, caused the bretheren at Gaunt, at Torney, at Valenchenes, at Hartgenbulich, at Middelburgh, and in diuerse other places, to do the like. Some of them pretending for that their mischiese, a commission from the Emperour: others deriuing their Authoritie from the holy ghost, as though God could be the author of their euill doing. Now let vs briefly consider this great miracle, which our new brethren accompt the mighty hand of God.

Their
comission.

First, the preachers were not lawfullie called, which was inough to shew all that followed to be nought, albeit they had preached no heresie at all. 1.

Secondlie, they preached so manie heresies, as the Lutherans or Calvinistes their predeceffours haue tawght. So that though their Preachers had been once lawfullie called, yet they had broken their commission. 2.

Thirdly, one of them preached against the other, accordingly as the sectes are diuerse, and in manie points contrarie. 3.

Fourthly, their deedes were contrarie to naturall honestie, in robbing and violentlie spoiling o. her mens goods. 4.

Last of all, they did it in such a time, as it

it may well appeare, they cared not to haue furthered the proceedings of the great Turk, sithens they must either haue drawen Kinge Philips power from resisting his inuasion, if he had come to Malta (as they thought he wold) or els haue compelled their Prince to their owne conditions.

If this be a great miracle of Gods working, to see the hearers of heresie spoile Churches by violence, we shall make manie new miracles, such as other men call manifest sacrileges, and wicked robberies. A Christian miracle is, when the faithfull ouercome by suffering losse, rather then by endammaging others.

Yea but a few did it against the will of manie. They were in deede but few that spoiled the Churches, in respect of the Catholikes who were in the Citie. But seing we can make it no miracle for a few to ouercome, where no man at all resisteth, this was no miracle in the spoilers behalfe, but rather a great miraculous plague to the Citie of Antwerpe, and to such other townes, for their great sinnes otherwise committed. For as Eusebius at large declareth, the greatest plague that euer God sendeth for our sinnes, is when our Churches are spoiled and overthrowen. But if these brethren being the fewer in number, had ouercome a greater
num-

number resisting them with like violence, then had it bene somewhat to haue bene spoken of, although it had not bene a sufficient proufe of their doctrine. But wheresoeuer anie resistance at all was made to these spoilers, they had no victorie, as at Bruges, Lile, Doway, Mountes, Louan, Bruxels, Barogh, and diuers other. In so much, that the mariners and women did beate them out at Flushing. Wherefore the plague which so fell vpon some townes, that other of lesse habilitie with great easinesse scaped the same, is a manifest argument, that God was more angrie with some townes, then with others. For with whom he was most angrie, those he punished most speedilie.

And in deede, sith all outward Temples, Ornaments, Seruice, and Sacrifices be a token of the inward worshipping, which ought to be in vs, when God sawe publicke iustice neglected, riot and couetousnes vsed, extortion, and vsurie without all feare exercised, heresie and lewde libertie of the flesh gredilie embraced, the Sacraments, and the Ordinances of his owne Church despised: when I say, God saw all inward righteousnes decayed, it was great mercie in him, to suffer the outward tokens of this inward iustice, to be also broken, and spoiled, to the end, those that would not take aduertisement of
their

Outward
holie
things
are
Signes
of
the
inward.

4. Reg.
85.

their naughtie life by hearing the worde of God catholically preached, might now at the least be warned by their owne eyes, and perceiue that as God suffered, *his owne Temple in the land of Iuda to be destroyed by the wicked Assyrians*, when his people wold take no warning at the mouth of his holy Prophets: euen so now the cursed generation of Heretiques being woorse then the Assyrians, was permitted to shew evidently vnto them, that their life was naught, their faith voide of Charitie, their Obedience none, neither to God, nor to the Church, nor to their Prince. This was the miracle that God wrought in suffering his Churches of stone to be spoiled by his cruell Ennemies, to the ende his liuely Temples & true Church might learne to detest their false Doctrine, whole fruites they perceyued to be so wicked.

1. Cor.
8.

The state of the Question concerning the adoration of holie Images. Where also a reason is geuen of the Order which is taken in the booke following.

THE II. CHAPTER.

BEfore that Images can be worshipped, they must be made. And when they are made, seing we do not defend that all Images,

ges, but onlie that certaine may be worshipped: it must be known, which are the Images that maie be worshipped, and which maie not. Then because it is not alwaies expedient, that euery thing which maie be done, should be done, it is an other question, whether though some Images maie be worshipped, it were well done to lette them be worshipped, specially when a farther danger might be feared thereby.

2. Fourthlie, for asmuch as there are diuerse degrees of worship, one which is due to God alone, an other which is due to good men: it is doubted, whether the same worship which is due to the principall patterne (as to the Saints themselues) be also due to their signes and Images, or els whether it be some inferiour degree of worship, which becommeth their Images & representatiōs.

3. Concerning the first question, the Catholikes defend, that Images maie be made, and that no generall or immutable commandement of God is against the making of them.

4. Secondlie, we defend; that onlie those Images maie be worshipped (in respect of Christian Religion) which represent and bring vs in minde, either that there is a God, or that there are three persons of the Blessed Trinitie, or which represent Christ, or his

5. Thirdlie, we thinke it expedient, that these holie Images should be permitted to be worshipped for their sakes whom they represent.

6. Fourthlie, we defend it for the more probable, that the same degree of honour is not due to the Image of Christ, of our Ladie, or of other Saints, which is due to Christ, our Ladie, and to other Saints themselves. But that there is a certaine proper honour due to holie Images, which may be called *a Worship or honour due to a good Remembrance, or Monument.*

7. Now in the first question, whether it be lawfull to make Images or no, there is no great difficultie, albeit some Caluinists doe speake vp and downe in that be halfe. But for the most part, it is graunted of all men, that Images may lawfully be made, so that they be not abused.

8. In the second, as well the Lutherans as the Caluinists defend against vs, that no Image at all may be worshipped in one sort or other. And much more they must iudge it vnprofitable, to haue Images worshipped, which was the third question.

9. In the fourth and last question, there hath beene thought to be some controuersie betweene the Catholiques, because some haue thought,

thought, that the honor due to the thing it selfe (by reason that the Image is all one with the thing, when it exerciseth the act of an Image) might be giuen to the Image thereof. Others be of an other minde, because they consider an Image otherwise.

10. Of euerie of these questions somewhat (God willing) shalbe said, but most of all, concerning the second question, wherein the greatest controuersie consisteth.

11. To make it then plaine what shall be defended in this treatise, I saie, it is not onlie lawfull, but commendable, and most agreeable to reason, and to the law of nature, and to the vniuersall custome of the Church, to make Images, which may put a man in remembrance of good, holie, and honorable verities.

12. It is likewise lawfull and commendable when the Images are made, to vse them as we ought to vse the remembrance of good, holie, and honorable verities. And then we doe vse well the remembrance of an honorable veritie, when we shew so much honor to the veritie it selfe, that we suffer not the verie signe and token, or as it were, the messenger and step of it, to be without some honour, for that verities sake, which it sheweth and putteth vs in mind of.

13. How much did S. Iohn esteeme Christ,

B 2

when

The ioyning of issue with the aduersarie.

Ioan. 1.

when he thought him selfe vnworthy to vnbuckle the latcher of his shoe? And who doth not naturally imbrace neuer so meane a seruant or messenger comming from his deere frind? Who kisseth not the ring, which he receaueth from him? Who loueth not the honorable naming of him? Who esteemeth not his picture and Image?

a Exo. 20.

b Psal 138.

c 1. Pet. 2.

d Ibidem.

e Exo. 20.

f Coloff 3.

g Gal. 5.

h Rom. 12.

i Eccles. 45

14. But when we say, Images may and ought to be honoured, no man may by and by thincke, that we make them Gods, as though there were not one honour due to a God himselfe, an other due to b to his Saints, an other to our c Prince, an other to his d Lieutenant, an other to our e Father and Mother, an other to our f Master, an other to our g friends and h fellowes, yea an other also to the i holy monuments and remembrances of iust persons, whose monuments are in blessednes. Among so manie degrees of honour, we giue one degree to Holie Images, and by Gods grace I will proue it to be due to them. Of which difference of honour, I warne the Reader before, lest he should thinke either that honour is due to God alone, and in no sense to anie other thing: or els, that when we speak of adoring or honouring Images, that then we should meane to giue the such honour, as is due to God alone.

The difference of honour cometh from the mind.

15. It is the mind which giueth honour
prin-

principally. If I fall downe before an Image, and kisse the same, and light a candell before it, being all this while of the mind that it is no God, nor no reasonable creature, but onlie that it is a good remembrance either of Christ, or of his Mother, or of his Disciples, towards whome I desier to shew mie affection, God he knoweth mie honour is farre off from that honour, which is due to God alone. In so much that If I lay prostrate before Christes feete, and kissed them, and knocked mie brest, and held vp my hands to him, and crept vpon my knees after him, and called him the Sonne of God, and yet all this while thought him not to be the naturall sonne of God (of which impious mind, the Arrians were) mine honour should be accounted no honour at all, but a contumelie to Christ, and I should be damned (not in deede for doing that I do, but) for not beleeuing his true Godhead, after that it had bene once published and professed in the Church.

16. *Abraham adored the people of the land of Chanaan.* But was he an Idolater therfore? Gen. 23.
He adored them as Lords and Gentlemen of the countrie, but not as his Gods or his Sauour. Geue God thy hart, and keepe thy faith steddie, and afterward be secure, that the honour which is geuen, in anie respect, for Gods sake, whether it be to the friends
B 3 of

of God, or to his Ministers, or to the Monuments and Images of Gods friends, be secure, I say, of they deede, because thy hart and intent is good, which onely God regardeth. And he regardeth it so much the better, if with a good faith to him, he see in thee a good affection to his seruantes or friends.

17. Thus much I haue sayed, to the end no man should be offended with the names of *Adoration, worshipping, honouring, reuerencing, bowing, kneeling, kissing, or any like,* as though, because distinct words lacke to giue euerie thing, that must be honoured, his proper name of honour, we can not therfore by our vnderstanding distinguish the honour of one thing from an other. The wordes which betoken honour be in maner confounded in all rouns, but the hart whence the honour cometh, knoweth the difference of euery thing. Therfore call it how yee list, one kinde of honour is due to the Image of an honorable personage, the which Honour is geuen without blame, when the partie that giueth it, doth in the faith of one God, and of one Mediatour Iesus Christ, direct his honour by the Image to the truth represented, as all good Catholiks doe, the which faith and intention, doth quite deliuer vs from all spice of Idolatrie.

Faith.

And

18. And forasmuch as he can not well build a new house, who doth not first remoue such stones and rubbish as lieth in his way, I thincke it necessarie to putte away such objections, as maie seeme to make against the hauing or honouring of Images, before I come to proue that honour is due to them. Yea before I come to either of both, my advantage against these Image breakers is so great that I will (for disputations sake) feine, that Images are either worthie of honour, or at the least that they were to much honoured by the ignorant Catholikes. And yet ifeuen that were true, I will declare, that the breakers of Images in the Low Countries did not well.

The order
of the
booke.

That although the Images of Christ and of his Saints had bene fastly worshipped, yet the Churches were vniustlie spoiled, and the Images vniustlie throwen downe. And consequentlie that the doers thereof, must needes be the ministers of the deuill.

THE III. CHAPTER.

BEcause the whole mischiefe done in the Low Countries had his beginning vpon this pretense, that the Catholikes abused the Images of Christ and of his Saintes,

woorshipping them, like as the Gentils heretofore, did worship the Idols of their false Gods: I will first shew, that our Images, although they had bene falselie worshipping, yet they ought not to haue bene so broken and destroyed, as they were. And afterward I will shew, that they are no Idols, but may and must be conueniently worshipping of vs according to the word of God, and the example of the first sixe hundred yeares.

20. Concerning the first point, if we had giuen false honour to the Images of Christ or of his Apostles and Martyrs: it was their part, who thought so, to haue exhorted vs to leaue that false honour, and not to haue committed any iniuriouse fact, whereby we might be iultlie offended with their whole doctrine. For if charitie did persuaade them to breake our Images, lest we should worship God in a false maner: the same charity, if it had bene ruled by right knowlege, would haue told them, that the way for the to make vs worship God better, had bene to haue gotté credit with vs by their good deedes. And whē we had thought the to haue bene good and honest men, afterward to haue proposed their great reasons, whereby we might haue bene moued, to leaue that our false worship (as they imagin it) and so to haue both kept our Images for the instruction of them

Gregor. ad
Serenum
lib. 7. epist.
109.

them who can not reade, and to haue left Idolatrie, as they call it. For seing the Image neither is euill of it selfe, nor the resemblance of anie false God, or of euill men (as the Gentils Idols were) I see not but the false worship might haue bene taken away, from the true representation which the Images make, and so both the Images quietlie let alone, and the abuse charitablie amended.

21. If they say, although the brasen serpent was willed to be set vp by God him selfe, yet that Ezechias brake it when it was abused: let them consider, first, that King Ezechias was the publike Minister of God, next, that he did it orderlie by publike commandement. And thirdlie, that the thing broken, was rather a figure then an Image: fourthly that it was not vsed as an Image, but was abused, as if it had bene a principall truth to be worshipped of it selfe. For the people worshipped the materiall brasie, in so much that Ezechias when he brake the serpent, he called it, *nebusam* that is to saie, *brassie*, or a *thing of brasie*, declaring by the name, what mettall the people had worshipped, the which verie thing Angelomus also hath noted. Now this woorship of theirs, could not in anie sense be lawfull, because no vnreasonable creature is woorthie of woorship in it selfe, and for his owne sake.

Num. 31.
4. Reg. 18.

1.

2.

3.

4.

In 4. Reg.
capit. 18.

22. Again,

Ioan. 3.

22. Againe, there was no naturall serpent at all who in truth might be worshipped. But only there was to come an intellectuall serpent (Christ, worthy of all woorship) who should take away the sting and byring of the venemouse Serpent the Deuill. Therefore the brasen serpent was an obscure figure (to them that were spirituall) rather then a manifest Image of a knowē truth to the simple. And whē the simple not knowing what the figure of the serpent did signifie, had honoured the verie metall, as if it selfe being the cause of benefite to them, the King moued with the holy Ghost, brake the serpent, saying, as it were, this is brasle, and not God.

23. But it is not like in vs, who doe not woorshippe the Metall of our Images, but we knowe them to be Images, and whereof they are Images, and we vse occasions to Remember Christ, our Lady, Saint Peter, and such other true Saints, whom we professe to be in heauen, keeping holie the daies of their glorious death.

Ioan. 3.

24. But these men being not so much as inferior Magistrates, and much lesse Kinges, did without order, by stealth, by force, and by night (and therefore with an euil conscience) destroye not obscure figures, but known Images of Christ and of his friendes, and those also not worshipped concerning their
met-

mettall, but only concerning that they represented a truth

25. Moreouer, Ezechias brake that brazen Figure of the Serpent, both without iniurie done to any societie or companie of priuate persons, and without seekinge of his owne gaine thereby. But these men so brake the common and priuate Images of diuerse Fraternities and Companies, that they both iniuried many Cities and Societies in the valew of certaine thousand poundes, and also many of them robbed and caried away to their owne commoditie, what so euer they were able to catche.

26. Last of all, if an Image might be broken and stolen by any meanes, yet what fault haue siluer Crosses and gilded Chalices committed, why they must needes be broken and caried away? What offense did white linnen cloth? What deserued the holy Bibles, and the workes of the Auncient Fathers, why they should be torne, burnt, or spoiled? Did Ezechias spoile the whole Temple of Salomon, because the brazen Serpent was abused?

Note;

27. To returne to Images, although they had bene abused and falsely worshipped (as they were not) yet according to the authoritie of holy Scripture, they ought not to haue bene throwen doune by priuate men, against

Deuter. 7.

against their wils whose goods they were. For thus it is written touching the Idols of the very false Gods . *When the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land which thou goest to possesse (and afterward) When he hath deliuered them to thee (againie afterward) Destroy their Alters, and breake their Images.* Lo when, God hath giuen any Heathenish Nation into our handes, so that we are become Lordes of that land, then onely we may destroy their false Idols . Wherby we are taught on the other side, that if we be not Lords of the lād, we may not destroy other mens Altars, or Images, albeit they be false. So doth S. Augustine reason concerning the Idols of the Gentils in these wordes . *Hoc dicimus charitati vestra, ne faciamus ista, quando in potestate vestra non est, vt faciatis illud. Paruorum hominum est, furiosorum circumcellionum, & vbi potestatem non habent scire, & velle mori, prope- rant sine causa. Audistis quæ vobis legimus, omnes qui nuper in mapalibus affuistis . Cum data vobis fuerit terra in potestatem. Prius ait, in potestatem, & sic dixit quæ facienda sunt. Aras eorum, inquit, destruetis, lucos eorum comminuetis, & omnes titulos eorum confringetis . Cum acceperitis potestatem, hoc facite . Vbi nobis non est data potestas, non facimus, at vbi data est non prætermittimus. Multi Pagani habent istas abominaciones in fundis suis, nunquid accedimus &*

De verb.
Dom in e-
uangel se-
cū Math.
6. 6.

confringimus? Prius enim agimus, vt Idola in eorum cordibus confringamus. Quando Christiani & ipsi facti fuerint, aut inuitant nos ad tam bonum opus, aut preuenient nos.

28. This we say vnto your charitie, doe yee not these thinges, which be not in your power to do? It is the parte of wicked men, and of furious vagabonds, to be fierce and cruel where they haue no authoritie, & willfullie to die, they hasten without cause. Ye haue heard, what we did read vnto you all yee that were presēt of late in the schroudes. *When the land shall be giuen into your power and gouernment. First he saith, into your power or gouernment, and so he shewed what should be done. You shall destroy (saith God) their Altars, you shall sell their darke wordes, and you shall breake all their Titles, or Monuments.* When you shall receiue authoritie, do this. Where we haue no authority, we do not this, but where authoritie is giuen, we do not omitte to do it. Many Infidels haue these abominations in their groundes, but doe we go vnto them and breake them? First we indeuour our selues, *to breake the Idols in their hartes.* And when they themselues are made Christians, either they do inuite vs to do that good deed, or els they them selues preuent vs.

29. Hitherto we may perceiue, it was vnlawfully

Mapalia.
was the
place where S. Cyprian, lay buried.
Vist lib. 1.
de persecut. vand.
Deut. 7.

lawfully done to cast doune their Images, whose land was not geuen ouerto them, who tooke vpon them that outrage. Now let vs consider the second iniurie, which consisted in turning the Crosses, Candelsticks, Jewels, Images & other Church goods into the priuate lucre of certeine men. Wherof St. Augustine speaketh in his epistle to Publicola, shewing why it is not lawfull to make our owne gaine euen of Idols, or of Idolatrouse Churches. No not then when it is lawfull for vs to breake them doune.

August. in
Epi. 154.

30. *Et cum Tempia, Idola, luci, & si quid huiusmodi data potestate, euertuntur, quamuis manifestum est, cum id agimus, non ea nos honorare, sed potius detestari: ideo tamen in vsus nostros priuatos duntaxat & proprios non debemus inde aliquid usurpare, vt appareat nos pietate ista destitute, non auaritia. Cum vero in vsus communes non proprios ac priuatos, vel in honorem Dei veri conuertuntur, hoc de illis fit quod de ipsa hominibus, cum ex sacrilegijs & impijs in veram Religionem mutantur.* And when Temples, Idoles, Woods, or any such like, by lawfull Authoritie are ouerturned, although it be manifest, when we doe that thing, that we do not honour them, but rather detest and abhorre them: yet notwithstanding. We ought not to vsurpe any part thereof to our only priuate and proper vses, that it may appeare we destroy these

Note.

these things for godlinesse, and not for couetousnes sake. But when they are conuerted into common vses, and not into proper and priuate gaine, or els into the honour of the true God, that thing is done by them, which is done by the men themselues, when they are changed from sacrilegious and impious, into true Religion.

31. Now seing neither the Brotherhods particular Lordes themselues in the Low Countries, nor the Prince and Prelates there, gaue these new Gospellers any power to throwe downe their Images, or to robbe their Churches: it is euident, that they haue both vniustlie throwen downe those things wherupon they had no power: and many of them haue more vniustly caried away a great parte of the same, to their owne priuate commoditie and filthy gaines. But for as much as it is vnseemly for any man, whosoever he be, to turne to his priuate commoditie those Idolatrouse and Superstitiousse Temples, Churches, Idols and Woodes, which were before dedicated to the deuill and his members: how much more vniust is it, for anie man to throwe downe such holie Altars, Temples, and Images, as were dedicated to Christ him selfe?

32. They say we worship Idols in our Churches, which is not true, but certainly they

they worship Idols in their hearts. For some of them so worshipped couetousnes, that (perhaps euen against their consciences at the first) yet they would imagine our Images to be Idols, that they might haue occasion to carie away our gilded crosses, our silver candlestickes, and other iewels and Images of price. Let euery honest man confesse which of vs is the more like to be the worshipper of Idols. I will proue hereafter, that our Images be no Idols. But which of them can say he is free from Idolatry, who keepeth the Church goods in his priuate hands which S. Augustine saith, no Priuate man ought to haue, *least he appeare to haue pulled downe Churches, or (which is all one) Abbies for couetousnes, and not for godlines.* If any man will cleere him selfe of this inward Idoll, let him confesse his fault in vsurping Church goodes, and amend the same by restoring that which he gotte vniustly, and then I may thinke he is become godlie, and is not any more an Idolater.

Ep. 154.

Patrimonium Celsi.

33. Farther it must be vnderstood, that according to the law and vse of all Nations, the Prince also hath a priuate treasure and patrimonie of his owne, the which if he do enrich by Church goods, or if he geue the same to his priuate friendes for their priuate commoditie, he appeareth to haue pulled downe

downe Religiouse houses for couetousnes,
and not for godlines. And in so appearing,
he geueth cause of iust offense to his neigh-
bour, and therfore; *Wo vnto him* (as Christ
him selfe hath cried) *by whom offences come.* Math. 18.

34. If any Protestant graunt, that the Ima-
ges in the Low Countries were vniustlie
throwen doune, and the Churches vniustly
spoiled, but yet say, that the same thing
ought to haue bene done there, and in all
other places after an other manner, to witte
by the order of Law: I beseeche him to con-
sider, that how so euer he mislike the maner,
and allow the thing, yet the vsers of this vni-
manerly maner, *were all of his owne opinion.*
Yea the Captaines of the spoile, were the
preachers and Doctours of his beliefe. So
that, *We may know them by the fruits* of their
owne Doctrine. And if any increase of this
new faith euer follow in the Low Countreies,
these men are the beginning and foundation
therof. And consequently that lewd prank
is the foundation of this new Gospel, wher-
of the Gospellers them selues are ashamed.

35. Note for Gods loue in euery countrie,
what filthy beginnings this Religion hath
had, and it shall be lothsome to thee to re-
member it. If then they that authorized the
spoile, preached false doctrine in this point,
and commaunded Churches to be spoiled,

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when

when the Countrie was not yet geuen ouer into their handes, why doth any man credit them in any other point?

The incō-
fancie of
the prote-
stants do-
ctrine.

36. I saie further to him, who so fauoreth these new opinions, that he is neuer sure to know, what his faith is, or what it shalbe shortly. For his preachers change, as euerie occasion serueth their aduantage. If the Prince be for them, *the contrarie part maie be persecuted: if the Prince be against them, no man must be constrained to beleue or to professe that which is against his conscience.* If such a woman rule, as doth not fauor them, *then they blow their trumpet against the monstruouse regiment of Women: if a woman fauour their sect, she maie gouerne not onlie temporall, but euen spirituall matters immediatlie vnder Christ.* If the Prince be with them, *obey your Prince, for he is the Minister of God: if the Prince withstand them, fight against your Prince, as they haue preached and practised in Germanie, in England, in France, and in Scotland.*

Epiphan.
hær. 30.

37. If miracles be alledged against them, *they are fables, although the Auncient Fathers haue them, as that of holy water in Epiphanius: if they make anie shew to helpe them, they are heauenlie reuelations, albeit they be very sonde fables newlie deuised, as the late miracle of M. Lane in Westchester.* If the Doctors be brought against thē, *they are men, be they neuer*

ſo manie if anie one of them maie be wrested to their ſide, *he was a holie Father inspired with the holie Ghost, as they speake of Epiphanius in the matter of Images.*

38. If a Popes Decree be alleadged against them, *he is Antichrist*. If they maie pretend anie peece of a Decree for them, *he is an Auncient Witnesse of Apostolicke faith*, as Pope Gelasius in the mater of communicating in both kindes. If Gloses or Doctours within these nine hundred yeeres be cited for the Catholikes, *they are babes*: If for the Calvinistes, *they are the Gloses them selues (that is to say) men principally well lerned, and graue*. If custome withstand them, *it is a corruption*: if it seeme to helpe them, *it is the laudable custome of the people of God*. And then let auncient customes preuaile, quoth M. Iewel.

39. The olde Latine translation is sometimes no Scripture at all, *as in conteining the* Isai. 11.
ſeuē ſpirites in Eſaie: sometimes to be preferred before the Greeke text, *as in conteining the wordes. Et de vno calice*, Altars, be only Holy tables, and Masse is the onely Communion, 1. Cor. 10.
 when it pleased them. The body of Christe is to them *the signe of his body*, and contrarie-wise the signe of the Crosse, is to them the body *it selfe crucified*. Thus the Reall body is made the only signe, and the only signe is made the Real bodie. *Holy bread is condemn-*
C 2
ned,

ned, and yet the Communion is taught to be but
 holy bread, and not Christes owne Real bo-
 die. Priests and Bishops neede not haue any
 temporall possessions: it is true (say they) ex-
 cept we our selues be Bishops. Priests and Bi-
 shops (as they teache) be equall by Gods
 law, yet they vnderstand it, except themsel-
 ues be Bishops ouer Catholikes. For then
 they compell tirannically Popish Priestes
 (their equals by their owne doctrine) to o-
 bey their decrees, as if they were their very
 subiectes. And whie then maie not they be
 subiect to another Bishops decree (although
 he were in Gods lawe their equall) as well
 as they take vpon them to gouerne other
 Priests, whom they confesse by Gods lawe to
 be their equals? And to conclude with our
 principall purpose.

Note.

40. If we burne their false and malicious
 translations of the bible, we burne (say they) the
 holy bible of Iesus Christ, the Word of God, the
 foode of life. If they burne (as now in the Low
 Countries they did) the Hebrew, Greke, La-
 tin and Douth text, with all the comments of
 the holy Fathers, and also with the Maps and
 Charts of Geographie, and all writers that
 they could come by, yet are they holie workers
 in the Lordes vineyard. And if anie of them be
 hanged for it, they are notable martyrs and wis-
 nesses of the truth.

41. O godly Gospell, & trustie teachers? It were infinite to protecute euerie such particular contrarietie. But these few examples well weyed, proue their doctrine to be light, vnconstant, variable, and fitted onlie to serue their owne bellie and pleasure. God send vs grace to beware of such sects, and to tarie in the Auncient Church, or to returne to the Catholike faith, knowen, tried, proued, and practised in all the world after one constant sort by the space of these fiftie hundred yeeres. But let vs heare, what may be farther said concerning this manifest Sacrilege of spoiling holy thinges.

The Petegrie of such as heretofore haue destroyed the Altars, the Temples, the chalices of God, or the Images of Christ and of his Saintes. With answere to certeine Obiections which might seeme to make for Image breakers.

THE IV. CHAPTER.

42. **F**ROM the time that either Moyses Exo. 26. made the Tabernacle, or Salomon had once built the Materiall Temple of God in Ierusalem, and had adorned it with Altars, Vessels, Tables, Candlestickes, Images of Cherubins, & with the holy Relikes, 3. Reg. 8.

Heb. 9.

the rod of Aaron, the Tables of the Testament, and Manna: the honour or dishonour done vnto it, was alwaies a sufficient declaration, who was the seruauant of God, and who was against God, and that not without cause. For as the materiall Temple is, and euer hath bene, the figure and signe of the faithfull men, *who are the true Temples of God*, so where true faith is, it causeth the signe of the same faith to be honored. But where heresie, schisme, and infidelitie is, thence must needs spring the despite of that thing, which is made to betoken and to signifie right faith and true religion.

1. Cor. 3.
& 6.

Note.

43. Marke wel, good Reader, the termes we stand in. We haue not to doe at this time with the Temples of Idols, or with the Images of Iuppiter, Mars, Iuno, Minerua, but only with those who haue borne the name of Christ, and of his Apostles and Saintes. I say from the making of the Tabernacle, and the building of Salomons Temple, to this houre, who so destroyed the Temples dedicated to God, or any ornaments of the house of prayer (such as had bene vniuersally receiued in his time) shewed himselfe thereby to haue bene of a naughty Religion and Faith.

1. Reg. 5.
& 6.

44. To begin with the Philistins, if they were so greuously punished in the secret parts of their bodies, only for looking vpon the

the Arke of God, with contempt, or curiositie: what shall we thinke is due to them, who now haue so miserably defaced so manie Temples consecrated vnto God?

45. If Oza that touched the Arke (as it may be thought, with no malicious minde) yet was stricken dead only because he touched it rashly: what may these throwers downe of Gods House looke for at his hande, who should rather haue put their shoulders vnder it, to haue holden it vp, when it had bene toward falling? Dauid for the honor of God, honoured his Arke with daunsing before it: these men much more like to Michol, then to Dauid, daunce for ioy, to see the like houses of God cast doune and defaced. 2. Reg. 6.

46. Was not the sinne of Ieroboam exceeding great, when he forsooke the Temple of Salomon in Ierusalem, where his Auncestours alwaies, and he himselfe sometime had serued Godde, and built him two new Schismaticall Temples, putting Priestes in them not of the order of Leui, and those also taken out of the vilest sort of the commonaltie? Compare the things, and it shall appeare, that the very like pranck is now plaid in Antwerpe, new Temples are built, new Ministers are made in schisme.

47 The Ministers and seruants of Iezabel in the daies of Elias, *destroyed the Altars,*
C 4 which

9. Reg. 19. which had bene built vnto God. Which thing Elias tooke so grievously, that he desired God, to take him out of this world. Was not Iezabel of a noughtie faith, and Elias of a good faith? and who are they now, that haue destroyed Altars dedicated to God in the Low Countries? Whether are they Papists, or Protestants? Nabuchodonosor burnt the Temple of Salomon, and caried away the ornaments. What haue the Protestants done lesse at Balduke and Amsterdame?

48. Baltasar called for the holy vessels of Gods Temple, and vsed them prophanelie. These men breake the verie chalices (which were made to hold Christes blood) into peeces: And as for the seruice wherunto they put them, it is horrible to thinck of.

Malac. 1. 49. In Malachie God findeth fault with the Priests for offering the blind & the lame beasts, and polluted bread. These men thinck euery thing too precious for Gods howse, and therefore they take away the gold and siluer, iudging it meeter for their owne tables, then for Gods Altar, as though Moyles and Salomon, had not decked all things with gold in their Tabernacle and Temple.

Heb. 9. 50. When Manasses (the Brother of Iadudus the high Bishop) married the dawghter of a straunger against the law, and through ambitio forsaking the Temple of Ierusalem, tooke

Ioseph, Iudaic. antiqu. lib. 11. cap. 8.

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tooke a new bishoprike instituted in the hill
Garizim by King Alexander, and there ser-
ued God in a new Temple, did he therin any
other thing, then these now doe? Who for-
saking the Parish churches whereunto they
belonged before, make them selues new Bi-
shops, and parishprieltes by their owne au-
thoritie?

51. Antiochus Epiphanes, hauing defiled
the Temple, turned the holie daies thereof
into moorning, and the honour thereof into
shame. Chanced not the like in Antwerpe,
whē our Ladyes church was spoiled within
the verie Oſtaues of the Church holy day? 1. Mach. 13

52. Pompeius is thought to haue done no
fmal damage to the Religion of the Temple,
onlie because he would curiouslie see the se-
crets thereof, albeit he tooke awaie nothing.
These men breaking vp the Holie of Holies,
tooke the blessed bodie of our Sauour out
of the pix, and hauinge done their filthie
pleasure therewith, caried awaie the pix, or
brake it in pieces. Ioseph. II.
Iud. anti.
14. cap. 83

53. Christ honoured the Temple with his
presence, notwithstanding the horrible vi-
ces which he knew to be in the clergy. These
men pretend the clergie to be so euill, that
they must needes punish the Temple of God
for their sakes. Luc. 2.
Ioan. 10.
Math. 23.

54. It appeareth by Tertullian, that the
Ethnicks An. D. 200
In Apolo-
getico,

Ethnicks did intwite the Christians of the speciall reuerence they bare to the Crosse. The like is now laied to our charges by the Protestants.

An. D. 250.
Euseb. l. 6.
cap. 33.

55. The Nouatians kept their Conuenticles and praiers a part from the old Church, or house of prayer of the Bishop of Rome, and of his Priests. So do these men preache and praie a part from their Diocelan, or Parish Church.

An. 280.
Conc. Nicenis.
2. Act. 1.

56. The Maniches not beleeuing the true flesh of Christ, did therefore hate his Image. These men yet are worse, because they hate the Image of that flesh, which they confesse to haue bene true.

An. 290.
Euseb. l. 8.
cap. 2.

57. Diocletian and Maximian commaunded all the Churches of the Christians to be destroied euen to the ground, and the holy Scriptures to be burnt: the first was done at Balduke, the second at Antwerpe in the Monasterie of the Franciscans.

Anno. D.
340.
Nicephor.
li. 9. c. 34.

58. When Georgius an Arrian Bishop was contrarie to the Order of the Canons brought into Alexandria by a Seculer Countie (the lawfull Bishop Athanasius being yet aliue, and not deposed, as himselfe doth witnessse) it is marueilous to consider, how manie things were done like to those which are now practised in the Low Countries.

Athanasius in ep.

59. The Arrians burnt the Baptisteries: and now

now also the founts provided to baptise children, were euerie where destroyed.

60. *The holy Scriptures were burnt there.* And heere they were burnt with a fier made of the wood of the Images. *There the Churches were geuen, in pradam rapinasque, to be made a preise, and to be violently spoiled:* here the same was done.

61. *There they deuided betweene them that which was laid vp in cellars, and dranke vp or shed out a great quantitie of wine:* The like was done at S. Michaels in An. werpe. *They pulled downe the candlesticks there. And here also. They burnt the tapers of the Church there into Idols:* here they burnt them to geue light to their owne spoile and robberie, the which Idol of theirs they at this time adored. *There Georgius gaue reward to the Spoilers of the Churches:* here I can affirme no more, but that it is saied, the spoilers were hyred for 12. stivers by the day.

62. All those mischiefs Athanasius himselfe describeth: And these of the Low Countries, all men may see euidently see before their eyes. Whereby our new Gospellers are proued to be the followers of the Arrians. Like impietie of Doctrine, must haue like impietie of deedes.

Anno. D.

63. Iulianus the Emperour after baptism^{370.} renounced his faith, fell againe to the worshipping

Nicephor. shipping of many Gods, persecuted the Christians, and denounced open batell to Christ himselfe. This Iulian (moued with the same spirit wherwinn these men were now moued in the Low Countries) tooke doune the Image of Christ made in brasse (which was set vp before, and had stoode in Cesarea Philippi aboue three hundred yeeres for the honor of Christ) and in place thereof, the said Iulianus did set vp his owne Image. And the Infidel Paganes drawing the Image of Christ by the feete, brake the same into peeces, as Socrates in his bookes of the Ecclesiasticall Historie, and Nicephorus also haue witnessed. *Behold the first Paterne of Image breakers.*

Euseb li. 7.
cap. 18.

Tripart. li.
6. c. 41. lib.
10. c. 30.

Cyrillus
lib. 6 contra Iulianum
cap. 33.

64. Let vs adde to this deede of Iulian, his wordes also. For in his booke against Christes Religion, thus he saith to the Christians. *Crucis lignum adoratis, imagines illius in fronte & ante domos pingentes.* Yee adore the wood of the Crosse, painting the Images therof in your forehead, and before the doores. Whereby we may perceiue that as the Christians had a grauen Image of Christ him selfe euen from his owne time in *Paneade*, so likewise they hadde the Images of his Crosse before their houses.

65. Neither did S. Cyrillus (who answered the slaunders of Iulianus) deny that thing, but he defendeth it, saying: *Perro mi-
seros*

seruasse dicit, quibus cura est semper & domos, & frontes signo preciosa Crucis signare. Further-
more he calleth those men wretches, and
miseres, who are carefull to make the signe
of the precious Crosse on their houses and
foreheads. And hauing reherfed what bene-
fites Christ did vs by the Crosse, he conclu-
deth: *Hæc omnia recordari nos facit salutare lig-
num.* All these thinges the healthfull woode
doth make vs to remember. And againe, *Preci-
osi ligni crucem facimus, in memoriam omnis
boni, & omnis virtutis.* We make the Crosse
of the holy wood, for a memorie of all good-
nes and vertue. And againe: *Vis igitur (vir-
strenue) vt lignum quod nos ad recordationem
omnis virtutis inducit, abijciamus?* Wilt thou
therefore (o good Sir) that we shall cast away
that wood, which bringeth vs to the remem-
brance of all vertue?

66. This mans vnckle also (bearing the Zozome
same name) hauing spoiled the Iewels, and
pretious treasures of the Churches of An-
tioch, sate vpon the holy vessel and vestmen-
tes (which M. Iewell calleth Communion
cups) and for his impietic, he was eaten in
the secret parts with wormes. Zozome
lib. .c. 2.
Fol 304.

67. Wonder not (good Reader) why none
of these good fellowes in Antwerpe haue
yet so perished. For it is enough, that God
once taught vs to beware by one mans paine.

An. Dom.
308.

Synod.

Gangrenf.
ca. 5. & 6.

An. 390.

Hierony.

aduertus

Vigilantiū

68. Eustachius the Heretike, allowed rather priuate conuenticles in prophane houses, then common assemblies in hallowed places. Wherin he was like to our new brethren. He also would do what hee listed without a Bishop or priest, and so will they

69. Vigilantius called the Catholikes, the worshippers of Ashes and of Idols, because they worshipped the Churches, tombes & reliques of the Martyrs, lighting tapers at the same, and desired to be relieved by their prayers, whom S. Hierom confesseth to haue bene of the mind, *vt Sanctorum basilicas destrueret*, to destroy the Churches of the Saintes.

70. Now then the minde, or desire of Vigilantius is executed in these our daies. Let vs farther heare, what S. Chrysostome, Optatus, and Victor shew to haue bene done by most vile Heretiks and Schismatikes in their time. S. Chrysostome writing to Innocentius the Pope, telleth how the wicked souldiours breaking into his Church at Constantinople, on Easter eue at night, threw out of the Church all his Clergie and him selfe. The which souldiers entring into the place where the holy things were reserued, viewed all things most curiously. And (in such a tumult) the most holy bloud of Christ was shedd vpon the garmentes of the souldiours.

An. D. 396

Nicophor.

li. 13. c. 19.

71. S. Chrysostome in that place complaineth

neither

meth, that by the rashnes onely and tumult of the souldiours, it chaunced the most holy bloud of Christ to be shed: but seeing these men in the Low Countries breaking by force into the Churches, and casting out the Clergie of sette purpose, brake vp the place where the most holy bodie of Christ was reserved, and trode it vnder their feete, how much more would that holy Father haue lamented of their impious fact?

72. Optatus first reporteth, that the furious madnes of the Donatists (who were a vile kind of Heretikes in Afrique) *aut fregit, aut rasit, aut remouit altare, quod est sedes Corporis & sanguinis Christi*: Their furiously madnesse (saith Optatus) either brake, or rased, or remoued the Alter, which is the seat or residence of Christes body and bloud.

An.D. 399
lib 6. de
schismate,
Donatistarum.

73. Againe Optatus saith: *Hoc immane facinus geminatum est, dum fregistis etiam calices, Christi sanguinis portatores, quorum species reuocastis in massas*. This heinouse deede (of breaking Altars) was dubbed, whiles ye brake also the Chalices which beare Christs bloud, the fourme whereof, yee turned againe into lumps of mettall. Did not these new Gospellers both breake and remoue the Altars of Christ, and also break the Chalices which bare Christes bloud, and turne them againe to lumps of Siluer or of other like Mettall?

74. Third-

Nonnes.

74. Thirdly, Optatus chargeth the Donatistes, because they went about to make the Catholique Nonnes (whom there he sheweth to haue bene spiritually married to Christ, & *secularibus nuptijs renunciassse*, and to haue renounced secular mariages) those vowed Religious women the Hereticall Donatistes went aboute to perswade, that they should chaunge their veiles, put vpon their heades by Catholike Prelates, and that they should take new veiles of them. For seing they would haue no Sacraments (geuen by the Catholiques) to stand, but would rebaptise those that were before Baptised, and would rase the Altars, that no steppe of the Catholique Sacrifice might remaine vpon them, vpon this ground they would also cōsecrate againe the holy Nonnes.

75. But Optatus there aunswereth to the, that notwithstanding the Nonnes had professed their chastitie, and in token thereof had taken the veile, yet that profession being none of the Sacramentes, needed not to be repeted againe, no not by the Donatists own Doctrine.

76. *Nudastis denuo capita iam velata de quibus professionis detraxistis iudicia, quæ contra raptores aut petitores videntur inuenta. In mitella iudicium est voluntatis, non castitatis auxilium. Vt iam Deo deuotam, nec qui sponsabat persequeret*

seueret petere, aut ne raptor audeat violare. Yee The veils
 haue made bare the heades already couered of Nōnes,
 with veiles. From the which heades ye haue
 pulled away the tokens of profession. The
 which tokens seeme to haue bene inuented
 against rape and woers. In the Veile there is
 a signe of the will, & not a helpe of the cha-
 stitie. That neither the woer who had spou-
 sed her (that is to say) who had the promise
 of marieng her, may continue in wooing,
 nor the violent defiler, may be so bold as to
 defile her by violence. *Signum est ergo, non*
Sacramentum. The veile therfore is a signe,
 and not a Sacrament. So that the Donatists
 whose doctrine was to vndoe all the Sacra-
 ments of the Catholikes, yet needed not by
 that doctrine to pluck of the veile of the Nō-
 nes, which was a signe of their Profession,
 and not such a Sacrament as the Church hath
 but seuen.

77. But our new brethren be not con-
 tent to change the veiles of the professed
 Nonnes, but also they would vtterly take
 away all such profession of chastitie, profes-
 sing therein themselves to be the fleshy lim-
 mes of all vnchastitie, and worse then euer
 the Donatists were. In so much that S. Hie-
 rom saith it generally of all Heretiques: *Rare*
diligit castitatem Hereticus.

In Osee 7.

78. Victor in his story of the persecution
 D of

An. D 44ⁿ
li 1. perfec
Vand.

Altar clo-
thes.

Lib. 1. per-
secut. Vā-
dalic,

of the Vandales, declareth that when Gen-
sericus had sent Proculus into a Prouince of
Afrike called Eugitana, the Arrian souldiers
spoiling all thinges, made themselves shertes
and stoppes, *De Pallijs Altaris*, of the clothes
wherwith the Altar was couered. Was not
the same thing done also in these our daies?

79. Moreouer Victor saith: *Arriani tem-
pore quo Sacramenta Dei populo porrigebantur,
introeuntes maximo cum furore, Corpus Christi
& Sanguinem pauimento sparserunt, & illud
pollutis pedibus calcauerunt.* The Arrians at the
time when the Sacraments of God were ge-
uen to the people, entring in with great fury,
sprinkled the Bodie and Bloud of Christ on
the pauement, and trode vpon it with their
polluted feete.

80. Be mery Masters (or rather be sory)
yee that are called the professours of this new
Gospell. Your Gospell is not so new as it
might seeme. Yee are not the first that haue
troden Christes holy body vnder your feet.
The Arrians did it before you. Their paterne
yee followed in England. Your paterne a-
gaine your bretheren in the Low countries
do follow. Behold, whose example yee haue
followed in this life, their company yee shall
haue in the life to come, if yee repent not,
which God graunt yee may do while the
time serueth.

81. I would gladly haue wished, that this much might haue sufficed for the shewing what examples the Church spoilers and Image breakers folowed in this their outrage. But they on the other side crie to me, that I omitte such examples as make for them. For Epiphanius (say they) a good Catholike, yet did cut a veile or cortaine wherin an Image of Christ, or of some Sainct was hanged vp at the Church dore. True it is that such a fact is reported in a certaine Epistle which goeth vnder his name, and it is said to haue bene turned out of Greeke into Latine by S. Hierom. But whether in deed he wrote any such thing, I will not affirme, but Damascene suspecteth it to be corrupted, or els to haue bene the worke of one who had the same name.

The deede
of Epipha
nius,

82. And although it were the worke of that Epiphanius who wrote against heresies, yet I knowe not what circumstance of the place or time did moue him to doe it. By the coniecture of the words (there alleadged) he was moued, as though it were against the Authoritie of the Scriptures to haue a mans Image hang in the Church. And by the Scriptures he surely ment the commaundement, which forbiddeth the Iewes to make or to worship any Image for God. But it forbid-
deth not the hauing of Images for a good re-

Damascē
nus in apo
log. 1.
pro vene
rat. Ima
ginum.

Exo. 20.

membrance of hoïy men, as (God willing) it shalbe declared hereafter.

Gregorius
Nyssenus
de Theo-
doro Mar-
tyre.

83. But if other Christians had not bene of an other minde, the Church of Theodorus the Martyr had not had his Martyrdom set forth on the Church walls in Imagerie, as Nyssenus doth witnesse it had. And others had neither hanged vp an Image in that Church, where Epiphanius is saied to haue taken it downe, nor murmured against that his deede, as it is written that they did. If then it was either an other Epiphanius, or els his priuate opinion, that God would haue no Images hanged vp in Churches, yet therein he was not stubborne. Otherwise he would haue noted the contrary practise and opinion for an heresie, whereas in all his booke of heresies (although he wrote of about foure score) he noteth no such opinion (of hauing Images in the Church) for heretical. Damascene also doth witnesse, that Epiphanius his owne Church was decked with Images. It maie well be that considering the countrie where that Image was, he did that thing there, at that time, which in an other countrie, and time, he would not haue done. For that place where he did cutte that veile, was Anablatha, a village of the Land of Iewrie, where both many Pagans were, not yet conuerted to the faith, and some Iewes were,

In Apolo-
gia.

were, who being late conuerted, were not so perfitlie recouered from their old custome of absteyning from grauen or painted Images, that they were willing to see any Images externallie set vp and reuerenced. The which reason also might well moue the Council of Eliberis in Spaine to decree, *that pictures should not be in the Church, lest, that which is worshiped and adored, should be painted on the walls.* Now reason sheweth, that when a thing not euill of it selfe (as that painting of holie Images) is forbidden in one certaine place (that is to say, vpon the Church wals) the same is permitted in other places, as in priuate houses. And againe, that holy thing which is permitted in other places, sauing in the Church, is much more meete of it selfe to be permitted in the Church, then anie where els, notwithstanding that the particular respect either of persecutions, or of not offending the weake, may so preuaile for the time, that Images might be forbidden in the Church also, for all things are to be ruled by charitie. To returne againe to Epiphanius, I would not haue his honor and good name perished by a fact, which (if it were his fact and Epistle) was done with a priuate zeale, according to his owne opinion in that place and time, whereas we must be presentlie ruled by the whole Vniuersall Bodie of

Of the
council of
Eliberis.
Can. 33.

I beleene
the Catho-
like chur-
che.

Christendome, which in other times & places hath vniuersally iudged otherwise. But lette vs consider that fith no man might possibly haue broken those Images which had not bene set vp before, it must needes be, that the setters vp of Images were more auncient and neere to the Apostles time, then those who pulled them downe.

Note.

84. As then before and in Epiphanius time Images were made, and sette vp (which thing shalbe more largelie proued hereafter) so straight after his time they were so common in all the Churches of the East (& much more of the West) that he was accompted an hereticke, who saied it was vnlawfull, either to haue them, or to reuerence them.

85. To shew an example hereof: Nicephorus writeth, that in the time of Anastasius the first (which was not long after Epiphanius) one Xenaias a Persian, being by condition a bondman, and fleing from his Master, was (though he were not baptised) made a Bishop of Hierapolis, partly through his owne hypocrisie, and partlie kept in the same by Petrus Gnapheus, an Eutychian hereticke.

li. 16.c.27.

Anno Domini. 493.

li. 19.c.27.

86. Of this Xenaias Nicephorus writeth in this wise: *Xenaias iste primus (O audacem animum, & os impudens) vocem illam euomuit: Christi & eorum qui illi placuere, imagines venerandas*

sanctas non esse. This Xenaias (O rash minde and wicked mouth) was the first, that spewred out that saying, that the Images neither of Christ, nor yet of those who pleased him, should be worshipped. And how could Xenaias speake against the worshipping of Images, if in his time and before, they were not worshipped? But if Xenaias was the first, who said Christes and his Saints Images might not be worshipped, surelie Epiphanius (who was a good time before Xenaias) had taught no such thing.

87. If then Xenaias be the Author of this doctrine, it hath for looth a good foundation. For he being no Christian, yet tooke vpon him to plaie the Bishop: a meete foundation for such a house, as now the heretikes build vpon it.

88. After Xenaias a hundred yeeres we reade, that Serenus a Bishop of Marsils brake Images in the Church, when he sawe them adored of certeine persons: and yet none could haue bene broken then, if none had bene there. And although he was induced with zeale so to doe, and not with that spirite of heresie (as now men are) yet S. Gregorie wrote vnto him, saying. *Frangere eadem Images non debuisse iudicamus*. We iudge that you ought not to haue broken those Images. And what wise man deueth, but

An.D. 590

Lib. 7. cpl.

109.

that Saint Gregorie, so good and learned a Father his iudgement ought to be of more authority, then the fact of Serenus? Who whatso euer he was, he was not like S. Gregorie.

The objection,

89. Yea but, you will saie, it seemeth that S. Gregorie him selfe wold not haue Images adored, for he saith: *Tua ergo Fraternitas & illas seruare, & ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit.* Therefore your brotherhood ought, both to haue saued those Images, and to haue forbidden the people from adoring them. Lo (saith the aduersarie) S. Gregorie would haue the people kept from adoring Images.

The answer.

90. I answer, there is a double adoration, one proper to God, which must be geuen to no Image: another is common to honorable creatures, and is in another degree extended to their similitudes and remembrances. S. Gregorie doth forbid all adoration, sauing such as is conuenient for that Image which stirreth vp in vs good remembrance. And this to be his minde, it is euident by an other place of his, where he writeth to Secundinus in this wise.

Lib. 7. epi.
53.

91. *Scio quod Imaginem Saluatoris nostri non ideo petis, ut quasi Deum colas.* I know that you desire not that Image of our Saviour to purpose, to worship it as God. Behold what worship

worship is forbidden to Images. Verelie such as is proper to God. But what? Is there none els that may become Images? it followeth. *Nos non quasi ante diuinitatem ante Imaginem prosternimur, sed illum adoramus, quem per imaginem aut natum, aut passum, sed & in throno sedentem recordamur.* We fall downe before the Image, not as before the Godhead, but we adore him whome by the Image we remember to haue bene borne, or to haue suffred, and also to sitte in the Throne.

92. The falling downe before the Image, is a kinde of reuerence, but it is no such reuerence as we geue to God. We fall downe before God, with the belefe that he is our maker: we fall downe before the image, only as before a good remembrâce of our Maker. For although we may adore God without the Image, yet when we are put in minde thereof by the Image, then as S. Gregorie speaketh, *per imaginem Christum recordamur, & adoramus*, we remember, and we adore Christ by the Image.

93. It is then cleere, that S. Gregorie gaue some honour to that Image of Christ, before the which he confesseth himselfe to fall downe, so that we haue more aduantage by S. Gregorie iustlie reprocuing Serenus, then damage by Serenus breaking downe Ima-

ges, who yet did onlie reprove the vnlawfull adoring of Images, and did not reprove (as it is to be thought) that adoration, which in deede became Images.

Anno. D.
630.

94. About one hundred yeeres after S. Gregorie, the heresie of the Monethelits ragged, who falselie affirmed Christ to haue but one will (whereas in deede he hath twain, one according to his Diuine nature, an other according to his humane) against which heresie, the sixt Generall Councell was gathered vnder Pope Agatho.

An. D. 710
Paulus
Diaconus
Rer. Rom.
lib. 8.

95 After those daies one Philippicus Emperour of the East, expelled Cyrus the Catholike Archbishop of Constantinople, and sette in his place Ioannes an Archeretike, And consequentlie he threw downe the pictures of all the fathers of the six generall Councils, which Images were sette vp in the church porche of Sophia. Likewise the same Philippicus sent vnto Constantinus the Pope of Rome, his letters containing heresie, the which letters the Pope by the aduise of his Councell refused, and caused other pictures to be made in the porche of S. Peters church in Rome, where all the Fathers of the six generall Councils were painted.

Praui
dogmatis.

Now, this casting downe of Images by Philippicus the Hereticke, and the same defended by Constantinus a Catholike high Bishop,

Bishop, and also by the whole people of Rome, doth euidentlie shew the breakers of Images to be much more like vnto the old heretikes, then vnto the auncient Catholiks. But Philippicus not enioying his Empire full three yeeres, had for his successour Anastasius, who intending to correct his predecessors fault, sent word to Constantine the Bishop of Rome, that he fauored the sixth Generall Councell. But his armie not content with his gouernement, inquiring for Theodosius (whom Paulus Diaconus calleth a man of a right faith) chose him Emperour, who straight waies did set vp in his old place that reuerend Image (or table) wherein the six Generall Councils were painted. After Theodosius one Leo of Isauria succeeded in the Empire, who (as Zonaras reporteth) when he was yet but a vile artisan, being told of two Iewes which were astronomers, that he should be Emperour, and thereupon hauing promised that if it came so to passe, he would graunt them whatsoeuer they asked: afterward at their request he commaunded the Images of Christ and of his Saints at Constantinople to be taken downe, and to be destroied, in consideration of which his wickednes, he was surnamed Iconomachus, the fighter against Images. He willed also the Bishop of Rome to doe the like in
the

Orthodox
sum:

Anno. D.
730.

To *Of Images, and*

the Citie of Rome, if he would haue his fauour. From which detestable Act the good Bishop of Rome Gregorius secundus, and Germanus the Bishop of Constantinople, and all the Catholikes of Italie so abhorred, that (had not the Bishop of Rome dissuaded them) the Venerians, and the souldiors of Rauenna, would haue made a new Emperour.

Paulus
Diaconus.
li 2. c. vlt.

An. D. 740

In verbo
Kw5ar-
7iv
Q
baot-
awc.

97. Constantinus following his fathers impietie, withstood likewise the honouring of Images. But what maner of man I praie you was he? forsooth, as Suidas doth report, one that denied our Lady the name of Gods Mother, saying our Lady to be like a bag, or purse, which is nothing worth when the mony is out of it, one that worshipped Venus, called vp deuils, and sacrificed mans flesh. Is it any wonder if such a man could not abide the honour of holy Images? Surelie he wold not gladly haue the Saints themselves honored. But vnder Irene and her sonne Constantinus, honour was yet againe restored to holy Images, and that not only with bare word & commaundement of the Prince (which yet had better suffised for the honouring of Images, then other Princes word could suffise for dishonouring them) but a Generall Councell was lawfullye called throughout all the world, *Wherin it was de-*

An. 790.

finis

fixed by three hundred and fiftie Bishops gathered out of the East and West, that bolie Images ought lawfullie to be honoured.

98. Thus whereas many changes were among the Emperours and Bishops, some putting vp, and other pulling downe the holie Images, yet the Catholickes passed their aduersaries in foure things.

For the
honour of
Images.

99. First, because the Images were once quietly made & adored through al the whole Church. Neither do we reade of anie sedition or tumult concerning the setting vp of Images, verilie because the vse of them was euen from the Apostles, yea from Christ himselfe, as it shall afterward appeare: but the pulling down of them was a matter of much tumult and trouble.

100. Secondly, whereas they were set vp in all Ægipt, Syria, Asia, Grece, Italie, Fraunce, and Spaine, with other like places, they were only pulled downe in one part of Grece, to witte, in Constantinople, and such other places where the Emperour kept his residence. But in all the West Church, no such thing was done publickly, no nor in Alexandria, Ierusalem, or Antioche as it is witnessed in the seuenth Councell.

Zonaras
in vita
Cōstāntini
& Irenæi

101. Such ods then as is betweene the part and the whole, is also betweene the Catholickes defending Images, and the Image breakers.

breakers. And who knoweth not that the Catholicke faith is that, which is in the whole, and not that which is in the part? For Hereticks alwaies make parts and priuate factions, as S. Augustine teacheth.

102. Thirdlie the Catholickes haue for them two Auncient Generall Councils orderlie gathered, the sixth, and the seuenth, whereunto all the Patriarkes came, or sent. But the Image breakers although they affected an assemblie at Ephesus, or at Constantinople for that matter, yet they both did it by stealth, and manie of the doers recanted their deede.

103. Fourthly how much so euer the same Constantinus, vnder whome being a Child the Councell was kept, did afterward goe from it, how much soeuer Leo Armenius made a new battell against Images, yet both Theophilus at the end of his reigne allowed holy Images, and vnder the Empire of Michael and holy Theodora his wife, the Images were againe fullie restored. In so much that to these daies wheresoeuer the Grecians, haue any Church or place to serue God in, the same are adorned with painted Images, and reuerenced by the people, as any man maie easilie see in the Grecians Church at Venice. The possession therefore doth as well remaine with the Catholickes in the
end,

An. 340.
Nicophorus in argumento
22. Tomi.

and, as they were also in possession of holy Images, before they beganne to be throwen downe.

104. What a vanitie is it now to alleage the solitarie and vncertaine fact of Epiphanius alone, or of a few hereticall and wicked Emperours, against the knowen and approued practise of all the rest of the Fathers, of all Generall Councells, and of all Churches and ages? But what? Is here an end of pulling downe, or at the least of wishing Images and holy Altars to be pulled downe? No surrelie. There were yet moe heretickes of that minde beside those which I haue hitherto reherfed.

Anno. D.

1180.

Euthym,

Part. 2, tit.

23.

105. In the time of Alexius the Emperour there were a kinde of heretickes detected in Grece, which were called in the Slation tongue, *bogomili*, as much to say, as intercessours to God for mercie. These men reiected *Moyse's bookes*, affirmed that there was but one person of the Blessed Trinitie, Satan the Deuil to be the elder sonne of God the Father. And among other many blasphemies, they said, *all Priests, and all the Fathers were damned, as the worshippers of Images, calling them Idols*. After them follow the beggers of Lions in France, called *Waldenses*.

S. 125

105. The Saracens also, who now worship Mahomet, called the Christians *Idolators*,

Tit. 24.

tours, because they reuerenced Christs Crosse,

Of this rase cometh Iohn Wiclef, to Wiclef,

Anno. D. Ioannes Hus succeeded, to him Luther, to
1350. him Calvin, to him Hermannus.

Anno. D. 107. And so that heinous doctrine of
1400.

Anno. D. spoiling Churches, and of breaking Altars
1517.

Anno. D. and Images is deriued from the Iezabelites,
1566.

from the Nabuchodonosorits, from the Bal-
1,66.

asarits, from the Manichees, from Iulian

the Apostata, from the Arrians, from the Do-

natists, from the Vigilantians, from the Eu-

richians, from the Monothelits, from Infid-

els, from Leo the fauourer of Iewes, from

Copronimus the worshipper of Deuils, from

the Bogomiles, from the Saracens, to the

Waldenses, to the Wiclefists, to the Hu-

guenots, and last of all to the Calvinists in

the Low countries. A meete genealogie for

such an opinion, as detesteth the remem-

brances of God, of Christ, and of his Saints.

108. How farre is this maine Sacrilege

and filthy Church-robing, from all the min-

des and practise of the Patriarches, of the

Prophets, of the Apostles, and of the Aun-

cient Fathers, and of all Catholique people?

109. If we read the holy Bible, and the

Ecclesiasticall Histories from Noe downward,

we shall finde all the blessed Patriarchs, Pro-

phets, Bishops, Emperours and Kinges, to

haue bene occupied in erecting Altars, in

buil-

Gen. 8.

22. 28.

Exo. 8.

26. 27.

3. Reg. 3.

building vp Churches and chapels, in decking them with Iewels, Images, and other like ornaments, in visiting the graues of the Martyrs, in praying to the Saints, in offering great and precious giftes to Churches, in entreasing the rents of the Clergie, in making Churchyards and places where men may be reuerently buried, in diuising meanes to haue psalmes, hymnes and seruice song both night and daie.

110. By such deedes Lucina the old Matrone in the time of S. Cyprian, by such deedes Constantinus and his Mother Helena, by such Theodosius, Carolus Magnus, and his vertuouse successours, haue deserued great praise. The which Histories as to prosecute perticularly, it were a long trauaile: so I can not omit one storie, the which is so notable, that all posteritie ought to renew it in daily talke and remembrance.

111. Alaricus King of the Gothes in the daies of Pope Innocentius and of Honorius the Emperor, conquered the Citie of Rome, which to that day had kept the world vnder the Romaine Empire and Lawes. But when the said Alaricus shold enter into the Citie, he made a proclamation, as Paulus Orosius doth witnesse, *Vt si qui in sacra loca praecep- que in sanctorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos in praeiis inuolatos secu-*

Anno. D.
414.

Orosius
li. 7. ca. 29.

E

105que

rosque esse sinerent. That if any did flee to the sacred places, and specially to the Temples of the Apostles Peter and Paule, those cheefly the souldiours should suffer to be safe and inuiolated. The historie which now foloweth, shalbe translated word for word out of Orosius.

A nonne.

S. Peters
plate.

112. This law standing, it happened that *A noble Goth came into a certaine house belöging to the Patrimonie of the Church*, where he found a virgin consecrated vnto God which also was well growen in yeares. And when he had honestly and soberly demaunded of this Nonne what gold and siluer she had, she brought forth a great quantity of siluer and golden plate, at the weight, price, workmanship and rare quality wherof when the barbarouse Goth was astonied, she said, *Hæc Petri Apostoli sacra ministeria sunt, præsume si audeas, de facto tu videris &c.* These are the holy thinges wherewith S. Peter is serued, take of them if thou dare, and stand to thine owne deede, for I am not able to defend them. The barbarouse man for the reuerence of Religion, moued with the feare of God and with the fidelitie of the virgin, sent word of this matter to Alaricus. Who immediatly commaunded all the plate euen as it was, to be caried to the Church of the Apostle: willing also the virgin and all other Christians, who
wold

would go together with her, to be safeguarded
thither.

113. The house was a long way from the church, about the one halfe of the Cittie, being betweene that house, and S. Peters Church. That notwithstanding, the siluer and golden vessels are caried of diuerse men, one by one openly, ouer their heads, and this godlie pōpe is garded with the naked swords of strangers running from euery part of the citie therunto. Hymnes are song publikly to God by the Romans and by the Goths. The trumpet of saftie soundeth at large in the verie destruction of the Citie, and calleth out for those that lay hidden. *The Vessels of Christ*, The holie pompe,
run on euery side to the Vessels of Peter. Yea Hymnes,
many Pagans are mingled with the Christians, though not in faith, yet in profession and shew. And yet euen so they scape for the time, to the end they may be the more confounded for their not beleeuing. The more abundantly the Romans fleing to the vessels are gathered about them, the more greedily the strangers are spread on euery side to defend them. The Christians,

114. O holy and vnspeakable discretion of Gods iudgement. O holie and healthfull fludde, which springing from a little house, whiles it goeth with a blessed course to the Seates of the Saints, it carieth with its godly violence

violence into the bosome of safety the wandring soules which were in danger. O that goodly trumpet of Christian warfare, which with a most sweete musike inuited all men generally to life, whom (being obedient) it raised not to their saluation, it left them inexcusable to their damnation. Hitherto Orosius.

115. Loth I am to leaue off this most merueilous Historie, and yet much more followeth in Orosius. Such reuerence then a barbarous Prince gaue vnto the Temples which bare the names of the Saintes, and specially to those of S. Peter and of S. Paul, and to the holy vessels which did belong to their Churches. Whereat S. Austine worthely so wondred, that he made .xxij. bookes intituled *of the citie of God*, grounding all his talke vpon the laid miracle. For he sheweth that no Conquerour did vse at any time to spare the Temples or Gods of those Cities which he had conquered. And yet so great honor was done to the Temples which bare the names of S. Peter, and of S. Paule, that not only the Christians, but also the heathen people who fled thither, as many did, yea the gold and siluer, was saued by the only protection of the holy place.

116. O how far off is this fact of Alaricus from the horrible contempt, which now is shewed

Augustin.
De Ciuit.
Deili. 1. c.
1. 2. 4. .7.
&c. cxi.

shewed by Chriitians against the holy Temples of God and of his Saints? The Gothes being then barbarous men, did fauor the Romans for their Temples and holy vessells sake: now Priestes and Clerks are the more hated, because they serue those Temples, and haue the keeping of holy vessels. The enimie then spared those holy giftes in a strange place, which now the citizens doe spoile within their owne Churches. One Nonne at that time found such fauor as thousands now can not find. Then Hymnes were song, and men waited vpon the holy plate all to honor them for his sake whole they were: now the same plate is cut in peeces, and best gospeller is he, that can do most contumely to it, in so much, that it were far better to be prisoner and bondman to Alaricus, or to the Gothes, then to be Prelate or Primate where these men liue.

The difference betweene this age and that.

An. D. 414

117. O lamentable generation, how long thincke you to enioy this vnnaturall practise, this brutishe disorder, this worse then Heathenish furie? Whose Temples haue you spoiled? Whose plate haue you cut in peeces? Whose Altars haue you broken? Whose Images haue you throwen downe? Whether those of Mars and Venus, or of Christe and of his Apostles, his Martyrs, his Virgins, and Confessours? Whose

Note.

names at the least you ought to haue reuerenced for their Maisters sake, if you had not hated their Master himselſe.

118. I would be ſory to haue ſpoken ſo vehemently, if I wiſt my woords ſhould not moue ſome one to Repentaunce: to Repentaunce, I meane not onelie of the Spoile of the Churches (wherat many Caluiniftes and Lutherans were not) but to repentaunce alſo concerning the Doctrine whence that ſpoile proceeded. Of that deteſtable doctrine I ſpeake, which made theſe men to ſpoile Churches, and to breake the Images of moſt honorable perſonages. Which doctrine is common to our countrimen with the Flemmings, albeit the Act of ſpoiling be not altogether common.

Cod. de.
Statuis &
Imaginib.

119. He that is aſhamed of thoſe Image breakers, and yet fauoureth their faith, whereby they did theſe thinges, it is no more to ſaie, but that by beleeuing one waie, that which he hateth another way, he both beleeueth that which he hateth, and hateth that which he beleeueth: if he loue both their faith and their deedes, he hateth them whoſe Temples and Images they haue ſo persecuted.

120. The Chriſtian Emperours *Arcadius, Honorius, Theodoſius, and Valentinian* doe not onely allow the erecting vp of their owne Images,

Images, and of the Images of other like Princes (yet without adoring them) but also they permitte Images to be sette vp in the honour of Iudges and of other temporall Magistrates, so that it be done by their charges, to whose honour the Image is erected.

121. Moreouer they commaunded those who fled to the Images of the Prince or Emperour, to be safe from all violence. Much lesse can it be imagined, that they commaunded Christs owne Image to be pulled downe, whersoever it should be, as M. Iewel falsely and impudently affirmeth.

Cod. de his
qui ad
Statuas
cōfugiūt.

In his re-
ply. Fol.
309.

122. Their Edict is in the Code of the Civil law, and it only commandeth the signe of Christs Crosse *tollī*, to be taken vp from the ground, lest by negligence it should be trod on, but not *tollī*, to be taken downe, as M. Iewel doth english it. Wherof I shall haue occasion to speake hereafter.

123. Now it sufficeth to warne the Reader, that those Christian Emperours honored, the signe of our Sauour so much, that they wold not haue it made or grauen vpon the ground, least if it were troden vpon, it should be vsed dishonorably.

124. The Title in the Code of Iustinian where that law standeth is conceived in these words. *Nemini licere signum Saluatoris Christi, tumi, vel in silice, vel in marmore, aut in scul-*

In codice.
Iustinian.
Tit. II. li. 8

pere, aut pingere. Lette it be lawfull for no man, either to graue or paint the Signe of our Sauour Christ vpon the ground, either in flint, or in marble.

125. Thus all the historie of setting, vp or of pulling downe Images, being briefly per- vled, we finde on M. Iewels side, nothinge but Heathens or Infidels, Renegates, Iewes, Heretickes, Idolatours, or many lyes made vpon Christian Princes. And contra- riewise we haue for vs, the woman healed of the issue of blood, who being praised by Christ him selfe for her faith, did sette vp an Image vnto him. From which day for- ward all Catholique Fathers, and Coun- cells, and Christians made, and reueren- ced holy Images, as it shall appeere here- after.

Math. 9.
Euseb li. 7
cap. 14. vel
18.

*That the Word of God forbiddeth not ge-
nerally the making of all kind of
Images.*

THE V. CHAPTER.

Exo. 20.

1. **G**Od said vnto the people of Israel,
Thou shalt haue no straunge Gods be-
fore me, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe a gra-
uen Image, nor any likenes (of that) which is in
heauen aboue, and in the earth beneath, nor of those
things

things Which are in the Waters vnder the earth.

By this precept, Images are forbidden to be made, either to this end, that they should be taken for Gods, or els that they should be setvp by any priuate mans appointment. For after that God had said, *Thou shalt haue no strange Gods*: immediatly shewing what are *strange Gods* (as then things were abused) he saide, thou shalt make no grauen Image or likenes of any creature, thereby declaring that the Children of Israel should not doe as the Heathens didde, who accompted grauen or painted Images, for their true Gods.

2. Againe, lest the people should thinke that they might freeilie make all kinde of Images (so that they tooke them not for Gods) an other limitation and restraint is also cast in, when God saith, *Thou shalt not make to thy selfe*, any likenes of any creature. In saying thou shalt not make *to thy selfe*. To thy selfe. Albeit thou maist haue such Images as are not taken for Goddes, yet because I know the weakenesse of thy faith, thou shalt not make them to thy selfe, nor allow them by thine owne priuate iudgement. But thou maist lawfullie haue such Images, as either my seruauant Moyse and other Prophetes, during the time of the Lawe,

OR

or els my Apostles and their Successours in the time of grace shall thinke meete for thee to haue.

3. This to be the true meaning of Gods commaundement, it may well appeere in the Chapters immediately following, where God commaundeth Moyses to make, *two golden Cherubins with their countenances turned toward the Propitiatorie*, that is to saie toward the place whence God gaue answer to the people by his Priestes and seruants.

4. Likewise Salomon made and did sette in the Temple the likenes of Lions, of Oxen, of Date trees, of Pomegranets, and of diuers other Flowers, as well in the inmost parte named the holy of holies, as in the Temple and Quiere called the holy place.

5. Moreouer it is euident by 1. Eusebius, 2. S. Basil, 3. Chrysostome, 4. S. Ambrose, 5. S. Austin, 6. Gregorius Nyssenus, 7. Paulinus, 8. Gregorius Magnus. 9. Yea by the perpetuall practise of the whole Church of Christ, that it was neuer taken for vnlawfull, to haue such holy Images in Christian Churches, or in priuate houses, as might prouoke our minds to remember good and holy stories, and consequently to follow the example of our most vertuous Auncestours.

6. Otherwise if by this precept, *Thou shalt not make to thy selfe the similitude of any thing that*

Exo: 25.

3. Reg. 6.
& 7.

2. Paral
cap 3

1. Histo. 7.
c. 18.

2. Hom in
40. Mart.

3 In Litur.

4. In vita
Gerual.

5 de. ofen.
Euang.

li. 1. c. 10.

6 de The-
odoro.

7 in Na-
tali. Ioh.

8 ep. 53 li. 7

9 concil.
Nicen. 2.

that is in heauen above, or in the earth beneath,
 &c. It be ment precisely, that the resembling
 of any creature, is vtterly forbidden by the
 first Table (which containeth the immuta-
 ble law of nature, concerning the true wor-
 ship of God) then all the world were in the
 state of damnation, for making, hauing, kee-
 ping, or beholding the similitude of all kind
 of creatures, some in their bookes continued
De Animalibus, of beasts, or *De Piscibus*, of
 Fishes, or *De Auiibus*, of Birds, or *De Herbis*,
 of Herbes, others in the rapestrie, and in their
 galleries, which are filled with diuerse gra-
 uen or painted Images: and then all the Pro-
 phets, and high Priests, and the whole peo-
 ple of the Iewes hadde likewise done against
 law of nature, for hauing the Images of the
 two Cherubins in the Tabernacle, and of
 the twelue Oxen, and of Pomegranets in the
 Temple. Yea the knowledge of grauing and
 caruing were vtterly reprobred, and Beleeleel
 and Ooliab, to whome God inspired that
 science, had bene the practisers of an vnlaw-
 full art. Exod. 31.

7. But if it be against all reason to say or
 thinke so, doubtles the similitude of euery
 thing, is not absolutely forbidden to be made,
 how soeuer it be forbidden to be adored,
 wherof we shall speake hereafter.

8. Therefore when we reade in the holy *Psal. 115.*
 Scrip-

Scriptures the makers of Images to be accused, either it is written of the makers of Idols expressly (albeit the english translation euery where almost turneth Idols into Images) or els it is ment of those, who make wanton Images, cailed in Greeke, εἰδωλολατρῆς. Or certainly of such as make Images, to an euell end or purpose.

Sap. 14.

Man doth
learne na-
turally by
conceiuing
Images.

9. But it is vtterly impossible, that the making of an Image (onely as it is the similitude of an other thing) should be forbidden. Otherwise God should be contrary to him selfe. For he hath so made vs, that we can not learne, know, or vnderstand any thing, without conceiuing the same in some corporall Image or likenes. Our knowledge commeth by our senses, of the which our eies are the cheefe. They see visible creatures, and heare soundes or voices, whereby the common sense being informed with such Images as it is able to conceaue, offereth the same to our phantasie or imagination, whence the minde beginneth to gather knowledge and to print (as it were) or to graue in it selfe that, which is powred into it by the senses.

10. And so ofte as the minde will either vse or encrease its knowledge, it alwaies returneth to those Images and figures, which it receaued and laied vp, to the end it might haue

haue wherewith to occupie or to delight it selfe, when occasion should require.

11. If then at what time I reade that Christ died, with his handes stretched and nailed vpon the woode of the Crosse, I may, and necessarily must deuise with my selfe an Image which sheweth so much (otherwise I can neuer vnderstand that which I read) how can a wise man doubt, but that thing may be lawfullye set foorth in an outward Image, which must be necessarily conceiued in an internall Image? The forbidding then of Images to the Iewes, was neither generall, that they might haue none at all, nor any immutable law of God, but onely a Temporall prohibition after a certeine maner to that people, for the auoiding of a greater inconuenience.

Of things that are equall, one may be done as well as the others;

12. If then it be Lawfull, to make and to haue Images, notwithstanding it be written (*Thou shalt make to thy selfe no likenes of any thing*) as the making which seemeth to be generally forbidden, is by conference of other places, restrained to a particular prohibition, so the worshipping of Images also being forbidden (according to the same meaning as the making was) is to be meant after such sorte, as other places of Scripture, and as the conference of the law of nature doth declare vnto vs.

Exod. 20;

13. Which

13. Which being so (as in deede it is) they were more foolish then the stoanes which they pulled doune, who exercised such crueltie vpon Images, as though the handy worke it selfe were vnlawfull, or as though the giuing of conuenient reuerence to them, were by no meanes tollerable. Whereas if all Images were to bee rooted vppe, they shoulde not haue spared their owne braines, which are more full of Images (that I may not say of Idols) then all the Churches in Christendome are.

That the Word of God onely forbiddeth Latritie, which is Gods owne honour, to be geuen to artificiall Images, leauing to the law of Nature, & to the gouernours of his Church, what other honor may be geuen to holy Images.

THE VI. CHAPTER.

1. **A**S the making of Images for this end, that they should be taken for Gods is absolutely forbidden, so is the worshiping of them, with that honor which is proper to God, absolutely forbidden. But as Images might be made by the Authoritie of Moyses or of the gouernours of Gods people (this only provided, that they be not taken for Gods) so may they likewise be wor-
shipped

As the making was forbidē after a sort, so was the

shipped by the Authoritie of Gods Church, worship-
 this only prouiso being made, that Gods ^{ping.}
 owne honour be not geuen to them. For
 God perceiuing well, that when the Ima-
 ges of honorable personages are made, ho-
 nour is naturally due vnto them, because
 their Images might be sette foorth for ho-
 nourable (as the Image of Iuppiter, or of
 Mars) who were not in deede honourable:
 And againe, because though the persons were
 honourable (as Moyse, or Elias) the weak
 Jewes, who were in knowledge like Chil-
 dren, and in Faith of spirit like Bond menne,
 might geue to much honour to the Images
 of these men: For these causes God com-
 manded, that neither any Image should be
 made by priuate Authoritie, nor any ado-
 red with *Latria*, which is the honour pecu-
 liarly due to God.

2. *Non adorabis ea*, saith God, *neque coles*. **Exod. 20**
 Thou shalt not adore them, nor geue them
 the worshippe which is due to God alone.

3. For albeit the woorde which signifieth
Adoration, be indifferent to God, or to Ho-
 nourable Creatures, yet the woordes. *Neque*
coles, doe in Greeke betoken the peculiat
 Honour of God, οὐδὲ μὴ γὰρ θεός τις, nor thou
 shalt not geue them that Honour, which is
 due vnto God.

4. And surelie how soeuer we name or
 call

call this or that honour, if in deede there be no difference betweene honour, and honour, **Exo. 20.** when God biddeth vs *honour our father and mother*, or when S. Peter biddeth vs, *honour the king*, it must be meant, that we should geue them Gods owne proper honour. But seing it is absurd, to geue vnto creatures the honour due vnto the Creator, we must confesse a difference betweene honour due to God, and honour due to his Frinds or Ministers.

5. Now for so much as the proper dutie of honouring God is (by such instrumentes of the holy Ghost, as haue written in Greeke or Latin) most commonlie named *latvia*, we must thincke, that when we are forbidden **70. Exo 20** to make anie Image, and to geue it such honour as is described by the word *latvia*, that then we are onlie forbidden to geue godlie honour to anie artificial Image. Which thing maie welll appeere by the circumstance of the place, where the commaundement is written. **Math. 4.**
1. Cor. 10.

6. For whereas it is said in the beginning of the commaundements, *I am the Lord thy God*, and afterward, *thou shalt not haue strange Gods before me*, and thirdlie, whereas he had said, *thou shalt not make an idol* (for so the **70.** Interpreters did translate it into Greeke) and wheras it followeth, *thou shalt not make*
Exo. 20.

the similitude of anie thinge, and yet againe, 4
 wheras it is afterward added, *thou shalt not*
adore them, nor geue them latria, that is to saie,
 Gods owne honour, and last of all, wheras im- 5
 mediatlie after, it doth followe, *Ego sum Do-*
minus Deus tuus, fortis, Zelotes, I am the Lord
 thy God, strong, Ielouse (the which words 6
 import, that God will haue no creature to
 be made his companion in honour) it may
 well appeere by all that goeth before, and
 followeth after, that God mindeth to forbid
 the woorship of false Gods, and of all such
 Idols as are made, and vsed to be worshiped
 as either being themselues true Gods, or as
 being the representation of such creatures,
 which are taken for true Gods: for by all
 meanes we are forbidden to thinke, either
 anie creature to be God, or that God his
 owne Diuine substance and incomprehen-
 sible nature maie be represented by anie arti-
 ficiall Image.

The cir-
 cumstance
 of the pla-
 ce doth
 shew the
 meaning
 therof.

7. It is a much sweeter contemplation to
 consider, that (wheras our bodily and imper-
 fite nature wold needs couet alwaies to wor-
 ship God by some bodilie Image, or other)
 God the Fathers owne natural Image and
 Sonne, tooke of the Virgin Marie our natu-
 rall flesh, to the end we might not lack some
 corporal truth of bodie and flesh, wherein we
 might boldlie worship the diuine substance.

Christ by
 his incar-
 nation ta-
 keth away
 Idolatry.

8. After then that this Manhood was assumed, seeing the shape of man maie be lawfullie shewed by an artificiall Image, we making the Image of Christ, who was man, doe not make any such Idol or similitude, as God forbad the Iewes to make, but we make a similitude of an honorable truth, whereas no Idol doth represent a truth.

9. Againe, we geue not vnto Christes artificiall Image any godly honor, albeit we being prouoked by the sight thereof, doe geue godly honour to Christ, who is immediately adored by the warning of the artificiall Image.

10. Furthermore if we consider, that the Israelites, to whom this precept was geuen, came late out of Ægipt, where creatures were adored in steede of God him selfe, and that they were like to liue in the land of promise with diuers of the Gentils, who al worshipped Idols: this thing well weighed, it is no wonder to see God so diligentlie forbid them the making of any similitude *to themselves*, to them selues, I say. For God gaue them a corporall similitude of *two Angels*, but they might not make any Image to them selues, by their owne deuise, or priuate deuotion, which is oftentimes the cause of superstition.

Exo. 25.

11. And therefore the Catholikes must

not

not sticke to priuate doings of their owne deuise, but only to that knowen Citie of the Church built vpon an hill, *which can not be bidden*, which Church is the pillar and sure stay of truth, and it hath alwaies made and conuenientlie worshipped (not false Idols) but true representations, of Christ and of his Saints. Marc. 3.
1. Tim. 3.

12. Briefly the precept of God forbiddeth the making and woorshipping of Idols, and the geuing of Gods owne honour, to anie similitude made by mans arte. But our Images be no Idols.

13. After this sorte did Philo (being a Jew most excellentlie learned) expound this precept of God, concerning Images: for he giueth a reason of the order of the commaundements saying: *When God had spoken of his owne substance, and honour, order would that he should tell, how his holy name was to be vsed.* In Decalog
go.
It was then as the peculiar substance and name, so the peculiar honour of God, whereof the commaundement spake, and not euerie other honour, which may in diuerse considerations, be geuen to diuerse thinges, but euer in respect of some vertue, and of some honorable qualitie. Of his
owne Ho-
nour.

14. The same Philo in an other place, affirmeth this precept of not adoring Images, to forbid, *that no man may make him selfe any* De eo quis
rer. diuin.
hæres sit,
God

God beside his creatour, *vt solus verè Deus colatur*, to the end he that is in deede God alone, may be worshipped.

15. Saint Augustine speaking of the diuision of the ten Commaundements, saith, that those, who will haue three only to belong to God (of which minde himselfe in that place is) do make all that to be one precept, whatsoeuer is commaunded concerning one God to be worshipped. *Ne aliquid aliud præter illum pro Deo colatur*, that nothing els beside one God, maie be worshiped for God. And after: *Et re vera quod dictum est, non erunt tibi Dii alij præter me, hoc ipsum perfectius explicatur, cum prohibentur colenda signenta*. And trulie (saith S. Augustine) that which is said, *there shalbe none other Gods to thee besides me*, the same selfe things is more persfitlie enlarged, when false Images, and forged thinges, are forbidden to be worshipped.

16. By which words of S. Augustine we plainly perceauē, that the words, thou shalt not adore nor worship any Image, are no more to say, but thou shalt not haue any other God beside me. So that the woorshipping of an Image is then forbidden, when it is made a God vnto vs. For whereas God saith three things, *the first*, I am the Lord thy God, *the second*, thou shalt haue none other Gods, *the third*, thou shalt not make
nor

Super
Exod. q.
71.

not woorship any Image: all these three sayings (by the iudgement of S. Augustine) are but the repeting of one thing in diuerse wordes. Which if it be so, these wordes, *thou shalt not worship any Image*, do not forbid all kind of worship to all manner of Images, but they forbid all such worship, as belongeth to the nature and substance of God himselfe, and so much doth the Greeke word of *latría* import.

17. It maie be said vnto me, that God forbiddeth not only the worshipping of Images, as of God, but also that he forbiddeth vs to adore Images, by any meanes, or to bow downe to them. For he saith, *Non adorabis ea*, thou shalt not adore them.

18. I aunswere, Adoration is a doutfull word, and it may signifie either the proper honour of God, or also the honour of creatures, accordingly as *Abraham adored the people of the land of Chanaan*. But in an other place *the Angel refused to be adored*, saying, *adore God*.

Exo. 20.

Gen. 23.

Apoc. 19.

Gen. 18,
Iud. 13.

19. Whereby we learne, that sometime adoration apperteineth to God alone, sithen otherwise it is euident, that the Angels sometimes haue bene adored.

20. Now then we knowe, that in these wordes, *non adorabis ea*, thou shalt not adore them it is meant, thou shalt not adore them

with this mind, that they are Gods, because the word *neque coles*, which followeth, doth declare what kind of adoration he speaketh of, verily of that which is one with *latria*, by which worde the holy Scripture describeth that most passinge worship which we geue to God, as he is God. For so S. Augustine saith, *Latria debetur Deo, non nisi tanquam Deo*. *Latria* is such an excellent honour, as is due to God: *Dulia verò debetur Deo tanquam Domino*, the honour of *Doulia* is due to God also, but it is not properly belonging to his substance, but to his gouernment & Lordship.

Aug. sup.
exo. q 94.

Quest. 39.
in exo.

1. Cor. 16.

3. cor. 10.

21. Theodoretus likewise doth witnesse, that this precept calleth the Iewes *a cultu demonum*, from the worshipping of deuiles: meaning that all Idols and false Images are dedicated vnto Deuils, as also S. Paule hath declared. But as it is not possible iustly to say, that Christes Image is dedicated to the deuil: so it is not possible to be true, that the same precept which forbiddeth the worshipping of such Images as are vnder the power of the deuil, should therby forbid the worshipping of the Images of Christ and of his Saints, which are only the signes of good and godly things.

22. By this which hath bee hitherto declared it may appeer, how wel & truly M. Iewel compareth Gods words & M. Hardings together.

23. Iewel.

23. Iewel. God saith, thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image: M. Harding saith, thou shalt make to thy selfe grauen Images.

In his
Replie
fol. 494.

24. Sander. Neither God nor M Harding say only so, as you report, if at the least we take saying for meaning, as it ought to be taken. For when God beganne to shew his meaning, he in deede began also his saying, with these words, *thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image*: but as his meaninge was, that no grauen Image should be made to be worshipped as God, so he afterward ended also his saying, with these wordes, *thou shalt not adore them, nor geue them the honour due to God alone*.

25. Therefore M. Iewell did euill to diuide Gods saying. And by that his diuision, I am sure he hath condemned his owne conscience. For I dare say, him selfe is not of this minde, that whosoever maketh anie grauen Image at all, or keepeth it being made (for all is one) is therefore straight against God. For then Beseleel, Ooliab, and all grauers, were by the practising of their art, Gods enemies. And all tapestrie and painting, were by the same reason, to be remoued from the vse of men.

26. But seeing M. Iewell is not of this minde, that whosoever maketh, or hath in his house anie grauen, or painted Image, is thereby

thereby an Ennemie to God, and subiect to eternall Damnation (as one that hath broken Gods commaundement, wherein he saied, *thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image*, why doth he burden D. Harding with these wordes, *thou shalt make to thy selfe grauen Images*: more then he burdeneth all the worlde, yea him selfe with hauing or keeping grauen or painted Images? For the signe of the Crosse, and the Queenes Maiesties face in her coynes, is a kind of grauen Image, and I thinke M. Iewel hath some of them in his purse.

27. Againe, M. Harding saith not, thou shalt make to thy selfe grauen Images, but only thou maist lawfully make, or haue those grauen Images (which not thou to thy selfe, but) which the vniuersall Church hath vsed to make, and to leaue to thee. It were a great holy day, in the which M. Iewel could say the whole truth either by God or man.

28. Iewel. God saith: *Thou shalt not fall downe to them, nor worship them*: M. Harding saith, *thou shalt fall downe to them, and worship them*.

29. Sander. D. Harding commaundeth not, that which God forbiddeth. But God forbiddeth his owne honour to be geuen to images, least they should be abused as Gods: M. Harding defendeth, that an other degree
of

Exo. 31.

In his
Replie
fol. 496.

of honour, incomparably inferiour to that, which is due to God, may be geuen, not for all that to euery Image, but only to the Images of Gods owne friendes. And that not for the Images owne sakes, but for their sakes, whose Images they are.

30. Now iudge thou (good Reader) whether M. Iewel be a wrangler, or no. For he is a wrangler, who knowing his aduerlariie to meane one waie, yet presseth him with wordes, which may haue an other vnderstanding.

31. Either you must proue (M. Iewel) that D. Harding will haue Gods owne honour geuen to Images (the which thing his owne hart and wordes denie) or els you must proue, that all maner of honour is forbidden to be geuen to any kinde of Image: and then you haue against your opinion the lawe of nature, the word of God, the iudgement of the auncient Fathers, the Decrees of generall Councils, and the practise of the whole Church, as it shalbe declared hereafter.

32. But perhaps you will choose the third way, teaching that there is in all but one kinde of honour. The which being due to God alone, none at al remaineth for Images.

33. Now then it remaineth to be proued (albeit I haue touched it before) that there are two kinds of honour, of the which one may
 apper-

apperteine to creatures (and therby to the Images of honorable personages) and the other must be reserved to God alone.

De Ciuita.
Dei li. 10
cap. 1. & li.
12. c. 10.

34. S. Augustine saith. *Latria secundum consuetudinem qua locuti sunt, qui nobis diuina eloquia condiderunt, aut semper, aut tam frequenter, ut pene semper, ea dicitur seruitus, qua pertinet ad colendum Deum.* According to the custome of their speaking, who by writing deliuered the holy Scriptures vnto vs, that seruice which is appointed to the worshipping of God, is either alwaies called *latria*, or it is so often called *latria*, that it is in manner alwaies so called. On the other side S. Augustine saith. *Ea seruitus qua debetur hominibus, secundum quam precipit Apostolus, $\delta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ous, seruos Dominis suis subditos esse, alio nomine Græce nuncupari solet.* That seruice which is due to men, according to which S. Paule commandeth seruants to be vnder their masters, is called in Greeke by an other name: that other name is, *doulia*, whereof S. Paule saith in an other place, $\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\lambda\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$. *Per charitatem seruire inuicem,* Serue yee one an other by charitie. Now all Service importeth the geuing of some honour to him, whom we serue.

Gal. 5.

35. As therefore we maie serue S. Paule, that is to say, as we may honour him, by thinking him our Superiour and Master, so
for

for his sake we maie Serue, that is to say, we may honour his Image, as a thing of his, thinking anie thing of his to be aboue vs (at the least, in signification) for S. Paules owne excessiue honour.

36. Neither is this *Idolodoulia* (as M. Iewel sometimes scoffeth) that is to say, this our Seruice done to Images (in putting off our cap, or in looking toward them reuerently, as we passe by them) is not the Seruing of Idols (as M. Iewel termeth it). For, to haue an Idol serued, or honoured, it must be sup-
 posed, that the Image of Christ or of S. Paul is an Idol. Which opinion I had rather M. Iewel held, then I. For it is in deede a Iewish opinion, and more meete for Antichrist his owne members to beleue, then for those who know Christes Image to be as farre off from being an Idol, as Christ him selfe is farre from being a deuil. For so S. Paule defineth an Idol, as if he had saied, it is an instrument to serue
 1. cor. 10.

37. But seing M. Iewel confesseth himself to honour the Sacrament of Christes Supper, which he teacheth to be an Image of Christes body and bloud (as I will proue afterward) and yet seing he beleueth none other substance to be in the Sacrament besides bread and wine, and seing he will not giue *latría*, that is to say, Gods owne hon-
 nou

nour to bread and wine: it doth inuincibly follow, that M. Iewel serueth, that is to saye, honoureth some Image. Now as he would not haue vs to call him therefore a Seruer of Idols, or a Seruer of Images: euen so it may please him (for his owne sake) to spare vs. For as he doth not end his honour in the bread and wine, but from thence referreth it vnto Christ him selfe: euen so doe we referre all our honour from all Images, vnto the first patterne of them, not suffering our Service or honour to rest or to end in the Image which we honour.

38. Thus I conclude, that a certaine honour is due to holy Images by the way of passing by, as it were (for the honour goeth from them to the first samplers) & that Gods word only forbiddeth vs to giue vnto Images the honour of *latria*, which is due to God alone: leauing vs to his owne word, to the doctrine of his Apostle, to the lawe of nature, to the examples of wise men, and to the vniuersall practise of all good Christians, to know what other kind or degree of honour is due to all holy Images.

What

What an Artificiall Image is, and of a naturall
and an Artificiall Image. And how some
honour may be geuen to Artifi-
ciall Images.

THE VII. CHAPTER.

1. **A**S Gregorie Nazianzene teacheth,
hac est natura imaginis, μιμικια φαναι
ἀρχιτύπου, κὶ οὐ λέγεται, vt imitatione id expri-
mat, a quo primum deducitur, & cuius imago dici-
tur. This is the nature of an Image, to shew
by imitation (or by likenes of forme) that
thing, whence it is copied out, and whereof
it beareth the name.

De Theol.
lib. 4.

2. Likewise S. Chrysostome saith: *Imagi-*
nem, quatenus Imago est, etiam apud nos ex om-
ni parte ei cuius est, Imago, correspondentem ac
similem esse oportet. An Image euen among
men must (in that respect as it is an Image)
be in all pointes like and correspondent to
that, whereof it is the Image.

Hom. 3. ad
Coloss.

3. Here it is to be nored, that euery reall
thing which is in this worlde, hath both a
nature of its owne, and also a seuerall sub-
sistence, or beeing, the which subsistence in
reasonable substaunce, is called a person. For
example: My nature is to be a reasonable
Creature, which hath life and sense. My
person

person is that kinde of being, wherein my nature is so limited, and fitted, or made apt for me alone, that it serueth none other creature beside me, in all the worlde.

4. As therfore euery man, yea euery thing hath a Nature, and a Person, or a seuerall Subistence: so eche of them may haue an Image of it selfe, but not after one sorte.

A natural
Image.

5. For a mans nature may onely be represented by a naturall Image, that is to say, by an other thing which taketh of him the same nature, which him selfe hath. For euery thing begetteth an other thing like vnto it selfe, as when the sonne is naturally begotten of his Father, then he is made the naturall Image of his Father.

6. In so much that if the Father be God by nature, the Sonne begotten of him, must needes be God by nature. If the Father be man, the sonne also must haue mans nature, and thereby he is the naturall Image of his Father.

An artifi-
cial image

7. But although a mans nature can by no meanes be expressed by art, yet his person, or at the least wise his outward shape may be right wel expressed, and represented, by grauing, painting, or otherwise by fashioning the same in wax, earth, or like matter. The cause why the shape of our Persons may be represented by arte, and not our natures,

is, for that, the Artificer who worketh by his owne knowledge, is able to conceiue in his vnderstanding, and afterward to foorme outwardly, that proper shape of euery thing which he perceiueth by his senses that it hath. But the inward nature which he neuer saw, nor was able to see naked, and as it is in it selfe, that nature he is not able to conceiue in his owne imagination, and therefore he can draw foorth no resemblance therof.

8. And that all artificiall Images do represent the shape of our persons, and not our natures, the very experience and common vse of speaking fully declareth. For if wee come where an Image of Cicero standeth, a right wise man may, and sometimes doth say, *Here is Cicero*, or *this is a man*, taking the sword man, for a thing which heareth and signifieth the person, and not the nature of a man. For albeit it be no prope speech, to say of the Image of S. Paule, *This is S. Paule*: yet it is vsed, because the name of the thinges them selues, are often times in common speech geuen to their signes and Images.

Aug. li. q.
ingen. 29.
cp. 29.

9. But certainly no meane wise man coming to the same Image of S. Paul or of Cicero, did, wil, or can iustly say, *This is a liuing or a reasonable creature*. And yet, if the Image did as well beare and shew a representation of mans nature, as it doth of his person, as well

well it might be called a reasonable creature (by that figure of speech, which calleth the signes by the names of the thinges themselves) as it is by the same figure of speech called S. Paule, or Cicero.

10. But seeing it is vtterly out of vse, to say by an artificial Image of S. Paul, *This is a reasonable creature*, Or, *This is a living thing which hath sense*, it is cleere, that an artificial Image is onely the Image of the person, or rather of the personall shape of euery man whome it signifieth, and not all the Image of his nature. Howbeit we are brought into remembrance of the nature also, by the means of seeing the person represented.

The Ob-
jection.

11. This much being confessed, it is easy to answer their Argument, who say, that *An Image of Christ can not be made, except it be a lying Image, because his Godhead can not be represented in an Image, which yet is the most excellent part of him.* I answered, that although

The an-
swere.

Christ had bene onely a man, yet his Image would not haue represented, no, not so much as his humane nature, but only by a consequent. Much lesse any man should require, to haue Christes Diuine nature represented and sette forth in an Image, or els to account it a lying Image. For an artificial Image, setteth forth onely the outward shape and foorme of euery thing, and not also the inward

inward substance. How then canne it be a lying Image, which representeth such an externall shape of Christ, as he had indeede?

12. For all be it he had not a mortall and humane person, but assumed and vnited the true nature of man, to his onely Diuine person, yet as S. Paul testifieth. *Formam serui accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus, habitu inuentus (est) vt homo.* Taking the shape Philip. 2. of a seruaunt (and) made to the likenes of men, he was found in clothing as man. That shape which Christ tooke, that similitude which he bare walking on the earth, that figure or clothing which he was found in, if any man represent by Art, his Image can not be a lying Image. For although it expresse not all that was in Christ, yet that which it representeth, is true.

13. As therefore when he liued in the worlde, and was seene and touched of his Apostles, the only shape of man was seene, and not either the person of man, which he had not, or the naked Substance of man (which is not seene but by his Accidents) or the Godhead (which hath no such forme at all, as is able to be seene of mortall men) so now by his Image the same only shape of man is expressed, & not either his Godhead, or his humane substance, or any person
C of

Note.

of man. On the other side, as when he liued, by the shape of his Manhood, the faithfull were leadde to his true manhood and thence to his diuine nature, and person: so in his Image we are put in minde, first of his humane shape and figure, and thence we are also caried vp to the remembrance of his humane nature, and so vpward to his Diuine nature and person.

14. If then we paint as much as the Apostles sawe, our image is no more a lying Image, then their sight was a lying sight. But as they might lawfully see the onlie shape of man, beleeuing all the rest accordinge as they were taught: so may we lawfully paint the only shape of Christes manhood, leauing the rest to be supplied by faith and by the preaching of wise & learned men.

15. Hitherto then we haue shewed and proued, that euerie artificial Image representeth the shape of the person, and not the nature of that principal paterne, whence it taketh its copie or extract.

16. Out of which principle, this conclusion is deriued, that it is neither lawfull, nor possible for any man to make by art an Image, which may expresse the nature and substance of God, of Angels, or of any other creature: because no artificer can him selfe conceaue or sette foorth, the inward and invisible

visible nature of any thing.

17. Secondly, it will follow, that it is possible & lawfull to make an Image, which may represent the personal proprietie of any known creature: because God hath left that arte to man, and willed the same to be vsed in his owne Tabernacle, and Temple at Ierusalem. Exo. 25.

18. Thirdlie, the three persons of the Blessed Trinitie (excepting the visible shape of Christes manhood) and the infinite Persons of Angels can not properly be expressed in any artificial Image, for that the artificer doth not know their proper shape and forme, as whome he neuer saw. Concerning the Image of the Trinitie.

19. Fourthly, by whatsoeuer visions, revelations, or maner, the Persons of the Blessed Trinitie haue bene shewed in the holie Scripture to be three, after that sorte, it becometh vs to signifie (not in deede, that this is the Image of the true Personne of the Father, or of God the Sonne, or of the holie Ghost, but) only that by these maner of signes it is shewed, that there is a seuerall Person of the Father, a seuerall Person of the Sonne, and a seuerall Personne of the holy Ghost. †

20. For as we may lawfullie preache of those Angels whome Abraham sawe to be three, and adored one, and of that vision which is in Daniel, wherein, *as it were the* Genes. 18.

Matth. 3.

sonne of man came to one of auncient peeres, whose garment was white like snowe, and the haire of his head like the pure wool: & as I may preache that historie, wherein God the Father said of Christ: *This is my derebeloued Sonne*, and that the holy Ghost came downe, as it were a dove: and as out of them I may shew, that there are three Personnes: right so I may sette forth in painting, or in grauing, the selfe same visions, and reuelations, to the end the people maie know and remember, that there are three Persons, of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost.

21. For seing we learne by eyes, as also by eares, I see no reason, why that may not be painted before our eyes, which may be preached to our eares.

22. Againe, seing he that can reade the holie Scriptures, must needes finde the said visions in the Bible: why may not he as well see on the Church wall, as in white paper, speciallie seing moe can vnderstand the meaning of an Image, then can reade and vnderstand the Bible?

Ad Secun-
dinū lib. 7.
epist. 53.

23. Saint Gregorie saith. *Ab re non facimus, si per visibilia, inuisibilia demonstramus.* We do not amisse, if by things which are seene, we shew thinges that are not seene.

24. I know (good Reader) with what wranglers I haue to doe, and therefore I must
saie

saie it againe, I would not haue any Image of the Trinitie, to be taken or meant to be the true Image or print of the Persons of the Blessed Trinitie (against any such Image S. Augustine speaketh) but only, to be a shadowing and shewing to vs, that there are three seuerall Persons, of one naturall God-head.

Augstin.
de fide &
Symb. c. 7

25. The Angels likewise may be painted and grauen according to the forme, wherein they were grauen with wings in the tabernacle, or els wherein they appeered to the Prophets, or Apostles.

Exo. 25.

26. The brieife summe is, that a naturall Image expresseth and imitateth the verie substance of that thing, whose Image it is: the artificiall Image expresseth onlie the shape of the person and propriety of anie thing, according to that forme, which the artificer doth iustly conceaue thereof.

27. Seing then an Image made by art is not able to expresse the naturall substance of any thing, and yet the personall proprietie that is resembled, can not be sette before our eyes without some substance or other: *the artificial Image must borrow an other substance,* wherein it may shew its own representation.

The material part
of an Image,

28. That other substance, whether it be wood, stone, gold, paper, or any like stuffe, is not anie essential part of an Image in it self,

although it be the materiall part of this, or of that Image, as the which can not be shewed to our eyes, without some like matter.

29. But as a circle in its owne nature is perfect without sand, paper, stone or any like stuff, and yet it can not be shewed to our eyes, except it be drawn out in some matter or other: euen so the Image is perfite in it selfe, without wood, stone, or paper, but not shewed to vs, vnlesse it haue a ground wherein it may appeere.

The abstracting
of an Image
fro its
matter.

30. As therefore the painter or grauer had the Image which he now setteth forth vpon the wal, or vpon the stone, much more perfite in his owne head and minde, before he did visibly paint or graue the same: right so, he that seeth the Image vpon the wall, or in a stone, may much better conceaue it in his owne vnderstanding, then that outward shape can commend it vnto him.

The ioyning
of
the Image
with the
trute.

31. If then the Image may be separated by our vnderstanding, from the materiall substance wherein it is shewed, as soone as we haue printed the said Image in our own head and mind: either it hath no truth at all to be referred vnto (and then it is a vaine Idol, and onlie a phantasticall thing) or if it be an Image of a truth, it hath none other reall person or proprietie to stay in, beside that truth whereof it is the Image, and thereunto it is
straight

straight waies referred by him, that vnderstandeth whose Image it is. For he saith or thinketh immediatlie, *this is Christ*, or, *this is S. Peter*, or, *this is our Lady*, ioyning the Image to that truth, whereunto it belongeth.

32. So that, if we see the Image of Christ crucified, we straight lay aside the brasse, yron, or wood, whereupon that Image was drawn or made, and we apprehend Christ himselfe, to whose person that Image doth leade vs.

33. This being so, the minde can not diuide the Image from the truth, in so much that if a man see an Image, and know not to whome it maie be referred, he asketh, whose Image is this? shewing therby, that his mind is not satisfied, for that it hath not a known person, whereunto that Image may be ioyned, according as the nature thereof requireth. For the mind is prouoked to passe immediatlie from the Image to the truth, which it standeth to signifie: and that it doth so speedilie, and sodainly, that one thought, one mouing, one act, and one intention serueth at once both the Image, and the truth therof,

Note.

34. The Image therefore being wholly referred to the truth it selfe, whiles it resteth therein, is made partaker of some of that worthines, which is in the truth it selfe, because

it is a signe and token therof. And it is not possible, but that euery signe of an honorable thinge, must partake some of the honour which is in it.

The order
how the
Image cometh to be
partaker
of honour

35. The outward paintinge of Christes death, moueth the bodilie eye, from the eye, our common sense taketh aduertisement, thence the phantasie or imagination is enforced. And when reason draweth out of that, which the phantasie sheweth, a deepe consideration, that this Image and representation (of Christes death or of any like historie) is both true and profitable to his saluation, and worthie of honour: if then M. Iewel can finde in his hart to say, *nay, this Image is not good,* or this representation is not worthy of reuerence, or it is an Idol, let him blame Images, and deny honour to them.

36. But if to condemne this Image, or to call it an Idol, or to accompt it worthy of no honour, that is either to deny, that Christ in deede suffred for vs, or to saie that the memorie of his death is worthy of no reuerence at all (which thing no Christian ought to thinke) it seemeth to me, that Images are worthely to be esteemed, and to be reuerenced in such sort, as that remembrance deserueth, which they prouoke in vs.

37. I had thought to haue said no more in this place of the nature or condition of an Image.

Image. But after that I perceaued M. Iewel (when he had a long time discoursed of the signe of the Crosse) to conclude, *that the cognisances of the Crosse painted or grauen in flags, banners, targets, and coynes, were onlie barres laid a Crosse, and no Images*, I thought it needfull to warne the Reader, that my simple vnderstanding can not attaine to M. Iewels meaning.

In his
Replie
fol. 302j

38. For I tooke an Image to be the resemblance of any thing, whether it were liuely or dead, stones, trees, birds, stars, or Crosses: so that if Christes Crosse be resembled, that is to say, if a like forme be made to that, whereupon he suffered, in whatsoeuer matter the Crosse barres be painted or grauen, it is an Image. For what is an Image, but the imitation, or making of a thing like to the shape of such an other thing, as (in that behalfe) is resembled, and thereby accompted more principall?

An Image
sc.

39. And because it is not possible (after that Christ died vpon the Crosse) to haue any Crosse accompted more principall then his (he being the head of the Church and the first begotten among many brethren) whatsoeuer Crosse be made in all the world, and speciallie whatsoeuer Crosse is either miraculously shewed, or made by Christians, is of necessity meant to be the Image and resemblance of

Ephes. 1:
Coloss. 2

106 *Of Images, and*
of Christes Crosse.

40. Let it therefore stand also for an vn-
doubted truth, that not only the shape of
Christes owne personage, or of his Saintes,
but also that the signe of Christes Crosse, is
trulie and properlie an Image.

*What an Idol is, and that our Images be neither
Idols, nor be not vsed like Idols.*

THE VIII. CHAPTER.

1. *WE know* (saith S. Paule) *that an Idoll*
is nothing in the world, and againe, I say
2. Cor. 3. *not that an Idol is any thing.* By which wordes
he meaneth to declare, that the verie first pa-
terne and *Archetypus* of the Gentils Images,
1. Cor. 10. hath no reall truth in it selfe, no heauenly
power, no vertue, no abilitie to make or to
marre. For it is only a bare name or shew of
a thing, and not in deede that thing, which
it is pretended to be.

2. For he meaneth not to say, that the
wood or stone which is grauen or painted
should be nothing (sithes that is the creature
of God) but only, that the thing represented
by the grauen or painted Image, is either no-
thing in it selfe, or at the lest it is nothing
toward our saluation.

3. To make this matter the plainer, we
must

must consider two kinde of false shewes, or of wrongfull appeerings, of the which, one is such, as the thing shewed thereby neither was, nor is at all extant any where: an other is such, as though it were in deede somewhat, yet it neither was, nor is that honorable thing in Religion, which it sheweth it selfe to be.

4. An example of the first sorte those Monsters may be, which were idlie deuised by the Poets: of which kinde Origenes and Theodoretus write. For whereas the Seuen-tie Interpreters had interpreted the wordes of Gods commaundement thus: οὐ ποιήσεις εἰδωλον, οὐδὲ παυγὸς ὁμοίωμα thou shalt not make an Idol to thy selfe, nor a similitude of any thing, Origen writing vpon that precept, saith thus: *Longè aliud sunt Idola, & aliud Dij, sicut nos nihilominus Apostolus docet, & cat.*

Exo. 20.

Origenes
Hom. 8.
in Exod.

5. Idols and Gods do farre differ one from the other, as the Apostle himselfe doth teach vs. For of the Gods he said (as there are many Gods, and many Lords) but of the Idols he saith, for an idol is nothing in the world. Whereby it seemeth to me, that he did not reade lightlie those thinges which the law said. For he saw the difference betweene Gods, and idols: and againe the difference betweene idols and similitudes (or Images) for he said of the Idols, that they are not, but he did not adde

1. Cor. 8.

adde, that similitudes are nor. God saith, thou shalt not make to thy selfe an Idol, neither the likenes of anything, therefore it is one thing to make an Idol, and an other to make a similitude.

An Image.

An Idol.

9. And if it may please God to illuminate vs to those things which are to be said, I thinke it to be taken in this sort: that if (for examples sake) anie man do make the shape or forme of any fourefooted beast, or serpent, or bird, in anie kind of mettall, either of gold, or siluer, or wood, or stone, and sette vp the same to be worshipped, he hath not made an Idol, but a similitude or an Image: or if he sette vp a painted picture to the same end (to be worshipped) yet we must saie he hath made a similitude. Trulie he maketh an Idol, which maketh that which is not, according to the Apostle, who saith, that an idol is nothing. But what is that which is not? It is a shape which the eye hath not seene, but the mind hath fained it to it selfe: as (for examples sake) if a man do make the bodie of a man hauing a dogge or goates head, or againe doe faine one man to haue two faces, or doe ioine to therfore parte of a man, the hinder parte of a horse, or of a fishe: he that doth make such things as these are, doth make no similitude, but an Idol. For he maketh that which is not, neither hath it any thing like vnto it.

1. Cor. 8.

7. Therefore the Apostle knowing these things saith, that an Idol is not in the world. For there is no shape taken of any thing that is ex-

sant,

ant, but that which the minde being idle and
 curious doth finde by chance. A similitude is, when
 any thing that is either in heauen, or in earth, or
 in the water, is formed.

8. Heere Origen teacheth vs, first that the
 false Gods which were so named were ma-
 nie, and were in deede extant (in hell for-
 sooth). Secondly that Idols be extant no
 where. Thirdly that Similitudes (of which
 kind our Images are) be the shapes and for-
 mes of things really extant.

9. According to the same sense Theodo-
 retus hauing asked, what difference there is
 betweene an Idol and a similitude, answereth
 him selfe thus: *Idolum nihil representat, quod*
subsistat: similitudo verò est alicuius Imago & ef-
figies. Quum ergo Græci quidam formos minimè
subsistentes effingunt, veluti Sphyngas, Tritonas,
& Centauros, Aegyptij verò νυκτοπόδες ἄνθρωποι, id
est, homines canino vultu, Bucephalos, tales re-
tum non subsistentium fictiones, idola vocat.

In Exod.
 q. 38.

10. An Idol doth not represent any thing
 that is: but a similitude is the Image or shape
 of some thing. Therefore whereas certaine
 Greeks did faine formes (or shapes) of things
 that were not in deed, as for example Sphinx
 (which was fained to haue the head & han-
 des of a maiden, the bodie of a dogge, wings
 like a bird, nailes like a lion, taile like a drago,
 the face of a man) & Triton (who was fained

An Idol.

Sphinx.

to

Centaurs. to be God of the Sea) and Centaurs (who were thought to haue the vpper part of the bodies like men, and the neather part like beastes) and whereas the Egyptians fained men with dogs faces, such deuises of things (that were not in deede) he calleth Idols.

11. These Idols then were nothing at all in the world, not onlie concerning Religion but also concerning nature. But of the second kind of Idols which are sumwhat in nature and nothing at all in faith or in Religion, Augustine, S. Ambrose and commonlie the other Fathers do expound both this place of S. Paule, and other places of holy Scripture, which forbid Idols to be worshipped.

1. Cor. 8.
& 10.

Aug. li. 18.
contra
Fautium.

In 1. Cor.
cap. 10.

12. Of this kind of Idols S. Augustine saith. *Sunt & idola, sed ad salutem nihil sunt.* Idols be also (or haue a being in the world) but in respect of saluation, they be nothing. S. Ambrose is of the same mind. *Simulachrum verè nihil est, quia Imago videtur rei mortua.* An Idol or a fained Image in deede is nothing because it seemeth the Image of a dead thing. And he meaneth the thing to be dead, not onlie to this world, but much more to liue everlasting.

13. An Idol therefore concerning the thing represented by it, is either nothing at all (as when a feined Monster is worshipped by an Image therof) or els it is nothing in respect of saluation.

saluation, as when a deuill, or a wicked man,
 or an vnreasonable creature is worshipped,
 either as God him self, or as partaker of Gods
 grace. But the Images which we vse, are nei-
 ther nothing at all, concerning the thing re-
 presented by them (sithens we do not wor-
 ship either men with dogs faces, or any like
 feined matter, but we worship true men, as
 Christ, and our Lady, and S. Paule are) and
 also the thing represented by our Images, is
 not nothing in respect of saluation, sithens
 Christ (whose Image we woorship) deserued
 by his death our saluation, and his blessed
 Saints following Christ their head, procured
 our saluation as much as lay in them, whiles
 they liued; by turning infidels and sinners,
 by geuing good example, by preaching, and
 by ministring the Sacraments, and euen to
 this day the same Saints be carefull for vs
 their fellow membres, and *pray to God for vs,*
 and obtaine vs his grace and benefits.

Iacob. 5:

2. Tim. 4.

2. Mach. 13

14. Therefore as the truth represented by
 our Images being both somewhat in nature,
 and much to saluation, is farre different from
 the Idols of the Heathens and Painyms: so
 are our holy Images and representations farre
 different from those vngodly Images and
 false representations, which were vied in the
 Temples of Infidels who worshipped false
 Gods. And consequently our Images are as
 farre

farre from materiall Idols, as Christ or his blessed Mother and Apostles are farre from being Monsters, Devils, or wicked men. For looke what proportion is betweene thinge and thing, the same proportion is betweene signe and signe of those things.

Proportion.

15. Moreouer the Gentils committed diuerse great abuses about their Idols, of the which we committe neuer a one.

Li. 3. De
preparat.
Euan. c. 15

16. They did commonly offer Sacrifice to the verie grauen Idol, as Eusebius declareth. And the wisest of them did offer to that vaine creature, which the Idol represented. And of this greuous abuse, Idolatrie tooke specially his name. For whereas the worship of Sacrifice (according to S. Augustins iudgement) is of all other most high and most peculiar to God, the Deuil professing enimitie to God, most vehementlie affected to haue sacrifice made to him selfe, or to any other thing which were not God. But (God be prailed) we are so free from offering sacrifice to our holy Images, that we suffer none to be offered, no not to those very Saints, whose Images we sette vp. We say not at the Altar (as S. Augustine recordeth) *We offer to thee, O Peter, or, to thee O Paule*: but onlie we offer to the Blessed Trinitie, which is one God.

Contra Fau-
stum li 20
ca 21. Ido-
latria di-
cirur eoru
qui sacrifici-
um ido-
lis exhi-
bent.

Contra
Fauftu li.
20. ca. 21.

Ierem. 2.

17. The Gentils did sometime adore and pray

pray vnto the verie materiall Image it selfe, saying to the Wood, thou art my Father, and to the stone, thou hast begotten me, and in that case, the visible forme was not an Image to them, but God it selfe. We can not speake or thinke so of our Images. For it repugneth, and is against the nature of an Image, to be the principall thinge it selfe, and consequently not to be an Image.

18. Some other of the Gentils thought, some priuie godhead or power to be contained really in their Images of gold or siluer, as S. Augustine declareth. But we neither thinck nor teache any such thing, but we teache, that the only good representation of a thing worthy reuerence, is to be honoured in our Images: but who can not tell that we make such a difference betweene our Images and Sacraments, that in our Images some thing worthy honour is shewed, and not contained, but in our Sacraments that grace & power is contained, which is by the wordes and thinges outwardly shewed. Some other more wise & learned among the Gentils affirmed themselves, neither to worship with Godly honour the Image, nor any Deuil, but by the corporal shape to behold the signe of that thing which they intended to worship, as Saint Augustine also reporteth. For by the Image of Neptune they worshipped the Sea, by the

In Psalm.

113.

In Psalm. 113

H

Image

In Psalm. 113. Image of Iuno, the ayer, by the Image of Vulcane, the fier. But yet therein it well appeareth, that they referred their woorship to dead elements, and to sole bodies which can receaue no honour.

19. We doe not so woorshippe our Images, that any element, or vnreasonable creature is finally honoured in them: but only those blessed Saints, who are with God, are honoured in our Images, and our Images together with them for their sakes.

20. The Gentils to auoide that fowle shame of worshipping the bodily elements answered, that they woorshipped not finally the bodies of the earth, or Sea, *but that they worshipped the Gods, who bate the cheefe rule in gouerning them.* But thereby also it well appeared, that they made moe Gods then one, and that they thought due honour might be geuen to those Gods by the meane of geuing false worship to dūme creatures, from which creatures they would haue the honour to passe againe vnto certaine peculiar Gods, who as (they supposed) were set seuerally to rule those creatures. This was highe Idolatrie. For the Image of Iuno being set vp in shape of a reasonable creature, as of a woman, yea of a goddesse, was directed to signifie the dead aier. And so the Image did shew a greater thing then that truth had, whose
Image

truth had, whose Image it was made.

21. Again the ayer which is a creature and no Image, was set to signifie a God, and was honoured falsely, that an other honour more false might be geuen thereby to that, which was not at all. Thus with all the deuises that the Heathens could make for defense of their Idols, they were alwaies found Idolatours. For, as S. Augustine saith. *Hæc sunt simulachra gentium, in quibus interpretandis non habent exitum nisi ad creaturam quam condidit Deus: ut in ipsa quoque interpretatione simulachrorum, de qua se peritiores eorum iactare atque inflare consuerunt, hoc in eis fiat, quod Apost. dicit: Coluerunt & seruierunt creatura potius quàm Creatori, qui est benedictus in sacula.* These be the Idols of the Gentils, in the interpreting of which, they can not but end in the creature which God hath made: so that euen in the interpretation of their Idols (of which interpretatiõ the more learned sort of them were wont to boast & to be proud) that was done in thẽ, which the Apostle said: *they haue worshipped and serued* the creature rather then the creatour, who is blessed for euer. Moreover the Deuils ruled at their pleasure the Images of the Gentils, geuing oracles and answers out of them, to the people. But the Images of Christ and of his Saints are feared of the Deuils, rather then ruled by them: nei-

Li. 20 cõ
Faustum.
cap. 20,

ther was it euer heard of, that the foule spirits were able to abuse them to deceaue the people: and that not without a cause.

22. For the faith, intent and purpose of the Gentils and of the Christians is so farre different, that the Gentils directed their Images, and the honour of them to an euill end, that is to saie, to vanitie, to the worshipping of many Gods, to superstition and hypocrisie: but our Images are directed altogether to the glorie of God, and to the remembrance of his benefites bestowed vpon vs.

Li. 20. cō-
tra au-
stū. cap. 23

23. In this respect S. Augustine saith: *Esti vsus quarundam rerum similis videtur nobis esse cum Gentibus, & cat.* Although we seeme to vse certaine things like as the Gentils doe, as meate, and drinke, howses, garments, bathes, and those also of vs who liue a married life, marie and keepe wiues, and beget, nourish, and make our children inheritours: yet he vseth these things farre otherwise, who referreth them to an other end (beside God) then he doth, who by these things geueth God thancks, of whome he beleeueth no euill or falshood.

24. Thus, I say, it chanceth likewise in Images. For albeit our Images be made of wood, of stone, or of siluer, as the Images of the Gentils are, yet he vseth Images farre other-

otherwise, who vseth them to haue a false God worshipped, then he doth who by the vse of them seeketh the honour of one true God. Now say I, for asmuch as those that are baptised and beleue well of God, and endeavour to keepe his commaundements, do set vp Images to a good end: this faith of their, and this intent, so beautifieth their worke and worship, that it is not possible for the Devils to abuse those Images (as their owne possession) which are dedicated to Gods honour. Faith.

25. Farthermore, the Devils coneted alwayes to mainteine the Idols of the Gentils, and with great sorrow they saw them destroyed. But they alwaies reioysed to see our Images cast downe, and ouerthrowen, as it may well appeere, in that, they perswaded *Julianus the renegate*, to breake and cast away the Image of Christ at Paneade in Syria. Tripart. li. 6. cap. 41.

26. If any man obiekt against me in this place, the great abuses which haue beene wrought about holy Images, in making their eyes to moue, their lippes to wagge, and so forth: I answer, those abuses came of particular euill men, who therby sought filthie lucre in certaine corners, where the Bishop was a sleepe. But these practises were neuer allowed in the Church of God. The obiection. The answer.

27. Who'douteth also, but that the Gospell and the name of God is abused daily?

28. Againe, those abuses were praised by men (who being not yet condemned euermore lastingly, are the lesse asfear'd to attempt such dedes) and not by Devils, who haue no such power vpon holy things, but rather haue their tormēt's increased when they approch to holy Images.

29. Thirdly the men who practised such abuses, if euer they liued where and when any Lutheran or like licentious hereſie was preached, they commonly became Renegates, with the first. And so they are not our shame, from whome they are departed, but their to whose new sprung Congregation they haue ioyned themselues. For if they did sette so litle by Religion, as not to feare to abuse the people, when by misordering Images they might gaine a penny or two: how much more did they reioyse to see Images throwen down, whereby they gained the whole gylt and the Iewels of the Images, whole Crosses of siluer, cortines of silke, candlestickes, copes and chalyces? They were, I warrant you, such Belly-god monkes, as gaue vp their abbeis, and now be Apostatas and married, against their vow made vnto God. So that the abuse was committed by men, and by such men as the new Gospell
(for

(for a great part) consisteth of,

30. The differences betwene the Idols of the Gentils and our Images, are briefly these.

31. First some kinde of Idols had no truth at all in nature, but were feined Monsters: All our Images haue that essentiall truth ex-
tant in the world, which they represent.

32. All their Idolles were without truth concerning faith and Religion: all our Images containe such a truth, as belongeth to Christes faith & Religion.

33. Sacrifice was done to their Idols: not so to our Images, but only to God.

34. Their Idols belonged many times to verie wicked men: our images, which we worshippinge, belonge alwaies to blessed Saints.

35. Some of the Gentils professed themselves to adore the vnsensible wood, or stone: we do not professe or teache any such thing, but rather the contrarie.

36. Other of the Gentils thought a certain substance of God to lye priuy in the Idol: we make our images only remembrances of holy things, and not to containe any Godhead.

37. The wisest of the Gentils adored by the Image of Iuno, or of Vulcanus, vnreasonable creatures, as the earth, or the fire, and by the, certaine Gods who gouerned those

creatures : we adore by our Images no vnreasonable creature, but only Blessed soules, and one God their Maker.

38. The Deuils ruled their Idols : The same Deuils feare our Images, which are sette vp in a right faith.

39. The Deuils maintained their idols : The same couet to throwe downe our Images.

40. To be short, their Idols were dedicated by infidels to an Heathenish purpose: our Images be dedicated to a vertuouse intent. Therefore our images being so farre different from the heathenish idols, are iniuriously by M. Iewell and such other called idols. And the conuenient worship, which we geue to them, is slanderously called Idolatry. And where in the bible mention is made of Idols, they are falsely translated into English, by the name of images.

That it is no Idolatry to geue conuenient worship to some creatures, and whether Images be creatures or no.

THE IX. CHAPTER.

D. Harding had said, that images were set vp in Churches, not specially to the intent the people might worship them, but partly

partly to instruct the simple, partly to stirre
vp our minds to follow the example of these
men, whose images we see. So that he mea-
neth the worship which is giuen to images,
to be geuen by a consequent, as it were, and
rather because it may be geuen lawfully, the
that it is principallie sought to be geuen.
Here vpon M. Iewel concludeth Idolatrie,
after his wise kinde of reasoning.

In his re-
ply.
fol. 497.

2. Iewel. *An Image is a creature & no God. And to honour a creature in that sort (as it is set vp to the end to be worshipped, although not specially to that end) is Idolatry, therefore by M. Hardings owne confession, Images are set vp to be vsed to Idolatrie.*

3. Sander. In this argument of M. Iewels there are but foure great faults. The first is, in that he putteth *idolum* in steede of *imago*, the second in that he putteth *latría* in steede of *doulia*. M. Iewel saith it is idolatry, to honour a creature, that is to saie, an Image of Christ or of an Apostle, in such sort as it is set vp not principally, but secondarily that it may be worshiped with such honour as is due to some creatures. for M. D. Harding defendeth that the honour due to Images, is both due by a consequent, and also that it is not *latría* nor Gods own honour, which is geuen to them, but *doulia* which is an inferior degree of honour. Now the word Idolatry

latry is compounded of *latria*, & of *idolum*, & is to saie, the geuing of *latria* or of Gods honour to an Idol: but our Images are no Idols, and the honour we geue them is not *latria*: how saith he then, that by M. Hardings own confession, Images are set vp to be vsed to *Idolatrie*? For to confesse so much, he must goe against his own doctrine, which denieth *latria* to Images, and denieth *Images* to be *Idols*. Therefore though it were true that a creature were set vp to a secundarie intention to be honoured, yet the honouring of it, should be called by D. Hardings confession *Image-doulie*, and not *Idolatrie*. For now we must make new names to confute new cauils & slaunders. The third fault in M. Jewels argument, is in that he presupposeth we may set vp no creature to the intent it might be any waies honored, although we set it not vp speciallie to that intent. Why so I praie you sir? Let vs imagin, that certain men had rebelled against the Prince, and had sworne they would neuer honour him whiles they liued. Yf these men be afterward taken, and promise to change their minde, may not the Prince be set vp in his throne, to this intent, that these men may be openlie seene to honour him in the face of all his court: or shall they commit *idolatrie*, who set vp the King thus to be honoured of his owne subjects?

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**That a creature
may be set
up to be
honored.**

jects? then some creature which is not God, may be set vp with some intent to be honoured, & yet no idolatrie committed.

4. M. Iewel should haue said, that no domme, and vnreasonable creature might be set vp to be honoured for its owne sake: or els that no creature at all might be set vp to be made a God, or to be honoured with the same honour, wherewith God is honoured, and then his argument would haue bene good.

5. But I would haue answered, first, that we geue no such honour to Images, as is due to God alone. Secondly, that the honour of *doula* may be geuen to domme creatures, in such respect, as they are made the signes of heavenly things. for so M. Iewel I am sure doth honor the Eucharist, although he (falsly) thinketh it to be the only substances of bread and wine, which are creatures. And so all the Catholickes do honour baptisme (as S. Augustine confesseth) & the holy Chrism, *De doctr. Christian.* with such like holy Sacraments. Thirdly, if we shall rip vp all things to the quicke, an Image is not properly a creature, for that is the last fault in M. Iewels discourse, because he affirmeth an Image to be a creature. Whereas although the matter of it be a creature (as wood, brasse, iron, or gould) yet the image is rather a *manufacture*, to wit, a thing wrought vpon

An image is rather a manufacture, than a creature.

vpon a creature by the artificers hand, then a
seuerall creature of it selfe.

6. And yet it is not to be worshipped in
respect of the art, which is in it (for the arti-
ficer might make the image of an ape as well
as of a man) but it is adored , if it represent
an honorable person as *Christ*, *S. Paul*, or any
like blessed man : and then also it is not pro-
perly to be adored in it selfe, but with respect
of the person whome it representeth. For as
it is an image , it hath not any seuerall sub-
sistence of its owne , but (concerning its
matter and substance) it wholie dependeth
of the mettall or stufte wherein it is made, &
concerning its person or subsistence , it de-
pendeth of his naturall person whome it re-
presenteth, and according to whose shape it
is made.

7. Truly no artificer is able to make a crea-
ture, or to geue it either a person or a sub-
stance of its own. Therefore an Image which
is no creature of it selfe , is al together to be
referred and ioyned to its cheife paterne, and
to be ruled wholie by its patern: and may be
set vp to be honoured for the paternes sake, if
the patern it selfe (whereunto it is to be re-
ferred and ioyned) be worthy of honour.

8. who knoweth not that the lesse disse-
rence is betwene things, the sooner they are
ioyned, and as it were made one ?

There-

9. Therefore seeing an Image, although it be an other thing, yet it is not anie other thing diuerse in person from its patern, we, honoring Images for the reasonable truthe like, neither honour a creature (as it is a dōme creature) nor commit Idolatrie by worshipping (in a lower degree) the Image of that truthe, which is in it selfe honorable, as Dauid hath witnessed Gods friends to be, saying, *Nimis honorati sunt amici tui Deus.* Thy friends o God, are very much honoured. Yet how could they be much honoured (in the sight of God) if they were not worthy of much honour?

Psal. 138.

10. By like M. Iewel would reple to this my answere, saying: although an Image be not a creature (as being the only worke of mans handes, and not the worke of God or of nature) yet it is lesse then a creature. And consequently it is lesse worthy of honour, then the least creature that is.

The Objection.

11. This were true indede, M. Iewel, if that which is wrought with the hand, were not a thing, which is able to stirre vs vp to a vertuouse and good remembrance, and to prouoke vertue in vs. For if either an Image could be separated (as it is an Image) from its true patern, or if the patern thereof were not reasonable or honorable, an Image truly were much lesse, then any creature in the world,

The answer.

world, because it hath no proper person of its owne, as euerie other creature hath. So that the worke of mans hands, is lesse in substance then any creature, but not lesse in honour, when it is set to signifie an honorable veritie.

In Psal. 113. 12. Likewise an Image that sheweth a falsehood, or which is set vp to haue an euill thing honoured by it, is lesse worthy of honour, yea rather is more dishonorable then anie creature, as S. Augustine confesseth and teacheth.

13. But as when the handie worke signifieth a foule or euill thing, it maketh a good creature of God to be accompted lesse of, then otherwise it should be (as when we breake the wood or brasse wherin an Idol is naughtily adored) euen so an Image (made by art) representing a truth, he which truth is worthie of honour, is more to be worshipped then any vnreasonable Creature in it selfe. Because the onely similitude of an honourable truth, is of greater dignitie, then that creature which by nature can partake no honour at all, as the which hath neither reason, nor anie similitude of a reasonable person in it.

14. To geue an other example in the same kinde, the Kinges Garment be it neuer so base, and of small price, yet in respect that

It is about his Maiestie, although it be a fe-
 uerall creature, is more worthie of honour,
 then all the Gold and preciouſe Stones of the
 newe found Land, which are not about any
 Prince. Whereupon S. Auguſtine writeth. Si
 quis noſtrum aut purpuram, aut diadema regale
 aduens inueniat, nunquid ea conabitur adorare?
 Cum vero ea Rex fuerit indutus, periculum mor-
 tis incurrit, ſi ea ſimul cum Rege quis adorare
 contempſerit. If any of vs do finde, either the
 Kinges purple garment, or his Croune lying
 (in any place) ſhal we goe about to worſhippe
 it? But when the King hath them on him,
 he that doth then contemne to worſhippe
 them together with the King, doeth incurre
 the danger of death.

De verbis
 Domini.
 Ser. 38.

15. If then the reſpect betweene Purple
 on a Kings backe, and the ſame lying vpon
 the ground, be ſo diuerſe, that the one waie
 it muſt be adored vnder paine of death, and
 the other waie it neede not be endeouored
 to be adored: what wonder is it, that an Ima-
 ge, which in reſpect of the matter and handie
 craſte therof, is worthie of no honour, yet
 is worthy of ſome honour in reſpect of the
 truth, whoſe ſimilitude it beareth? Special-
 lie ſeing there is farre greater cauſe, why the
 Image of S. Paule ſhould be honoured, then
 why the Kings garment ſhould be at all ho-
 nored.

16. For seing it is against reason for a reasonable mā to honour an vnreasonable creature (which is lesse than he that honoureth it) seing yet a garment which is an vnreasonable creature, may be honoured in respect that it is ypon the kings backe (whereas the same garment taryeng still the same garment, may be very well separated from the kings person, and be geuen to an other man) much more then the Image of S. Paule, which is no vnreasonable creature (as it is an Image) but rather it is the similitude of a reasonable creature (and tarying still the same Image which once it was, can not in any respect be otherwise then his onely Image) much more that Image may be honoured in respect of S. Paule him selfe.

17. Last of all, when there is any daunger, least a creature should rob God of his owne honour, in that case the lesse the creature is, the farther of it is from possibilitie of hauing Gods owne honour geuen to it. Euen as, the poorer and bader a man is, the lesse iust cause a King hath to feare, least he should deprive him of his Royal Croune.

18. For this cause, whereas the Sonne of God alone is naturally the Image of his Father, and thereby of equall substance and honour with him, S. Chrysostome asketh how it chaunced, that men are called alio the son-

nes of God, and are said to be made according to Goddes Image, whereas the Angels who are much about men, are neither found to be named the Sonnes, nor the Images of God? Whereunto himselfe answereth in this wise. *Quoniam illic quidem natura sublimitas facile complures in hanc impietatem coniecisset, hic vero tenuitas & humilitas securitatem prestat.* If the Angels should be called the Sonnes of God, or his Images, their high and excellent nature would haue brought many into this wicked minde, to haue thought the equall with God. But the low and base nature of men, taketh away all such feare.

19. And afterward: *Vbi multum erat humilitatis, ibi scriptura confidenter ac secure posuit honorem: vbi vero maior natura, non item.* Where much basenes was, there the Scripture did boldly and without feare, place and attribute honour (by calling men the Sonnes of God) but where the greater nature was (to witte, in Angels) there the Scripture did not attribute such honour.

Ibidem.

20. If the discourse of S. Chrysostome be good (as it is) then the baser a thinge is, the rather it maie haue honour geuen to it. And therefore the Image which is made by the Artificer, and is lesse then any creature, maie with much lesse daunger be honored, then any creature it selfe.

Psal. 138.

21. Seing then it is euident, that some creatures maie be honoured (as the Prophete confesseth Gods Frindes to be much honoured) and seeing some vnreasonable creatures must be honoured (in that behalfe as they are assumed by God to make a highe Misterie, as Baptisme) and seeing an Image is the similitude or steppe of an honourable veritie, as of Christe, or of his Saintes: it is out of all question with all reasonable men, that the Images of Saintes maie be lawfully sette vp to be honoured, without all suspicion or feare of Idolatrie, notwithstandinge that they are either creatures, or els Manufactures, which is to say, lesse then Creatures, as being only the worke of mens hands.

M. Iewels Iuggling is detected concerning the Antiquitie and Inuention of Images. And specialle his manifeste corrupting of Eusebius in that Argument.

THE X. CHAPTER.

1. **D**Octour Harding had, shewed how God in the time of Moyse Law had commaunded two Cherubins to be made, and to be sette vp in the Tabernacle, whereupon M. Iewel saith.

2. *Iewel, M. Harding doubteth not to deriue*

the first inuention of his Images from God him
 selfe (and afterward) but learned and wise-men
 thinke, that the inuention hereof came first from In his
 the Heathens and Infidels, that knew not God. Replie

3. Sander. Whereas there are two kind of 497
 Images, one which doth represent a truth, as
 that Christ redeemed vs, an other which re-
 presenteth a starke falshood, as that Iuppitor
 is God: Againe, whereas there are diuerse
 kinds of honour, one, which is due to God
 alone: an other, which is in diuerse degrees
 due to good men themselues: the third which
 is also in diuerse degrees due to the Images
 or representations of good men: the Hea-
 thens inuented such Images as represent a
 falshood, and such honouring of them as is
 not due to them.

4. But Images which represent a truth,
 and the true honouring of them came indeed
 from God, and that first of all by the law of
 nature and of Nations, which permitteth the
 arte and knowledge of grauing and painting,
 if they be well vsed: Secondly God in the
 law shewed that Images might be made, by
 willing the two Cherubins and the Images
 of Lions and of Oxen to be set in the Taber-
 nacle, & in Salomons Temple. Thirdly God
 in the time of the new Testament inspired
 his Apostles and Seruaunts to allow the ma-
 king of good and true representations, the

Exo. 25
 3. Reg 6
 2. Paral.

which were laudably made in the first three hundred yeeres after Christ, as Eusebius doth witnesse, about whose wordes our chiefe disputation shalbe.

5. Now cometh M. Iewel and taking vpon him to write against D. Harding (who defendeth only such Images as God hath allowed, and such as Christes Church hath vlied) bringeth in that which was spoken either of wicked Idols, or of the false worshipping of baudie and wanton Images: so that his long discourse is answered in one word: They are Idols (M. Iewel) or wanton pictures, and not the Images of holy men, whereof the booke of wisedome, S. Cyprian, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine. Lactantius, and S. Athanasius do speake. Dorth not your owne booke confesse so much? hath not your margin these wordes out of Athanasius, *ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ χάρις*. &c. The inuention of Idols came not of good, but of euill? But you turne, *the Inuention of Images*. And because you haue translated the place falsly, haue you thereby won the spurs? Shall any mans iniquitie and traiterous iuggling in Gods matters, get him credit with good men? Is euery Image an Idol? If you thinke so, then sith *the Sonne of God is the Image of God, and the figure of his Fathers substance*, the Sonne of God is with you an Idol. Or is euery Idol, an Image? Then

In his
Replie
fol. 493.

Collos. 1.

the

the pictures of those who are made with
Dogs faces, are Images & consequently there
are such men in deede. For euery Image, if
it be properly an Image, is the likenes of some
truth. Otherwise it is an Idol, and no Image,
as I shewed before out of Origene & Theo-
dorete. But know you not the difference be-
tweene an Idol and an Image? Then you are
very simple, in good faith, and to mealy
learned: or if you do know the difference (be-
cause doubtles you are no foole) why then turn
you the greeke word, *ἰδωλον*, *Idolorum*, by
this english word Images? but onely because
you must mainteine your cause by falshood?
But let vs come to speake of the state of the
new testament, and there see whether Ima-
ges were vsed and receaued in the Primitiue
Church, or no.

6. That I may not stay vpon the tradition,
which, as Damascen witnesseth, reported
that Christ sent his owne Image to Augarus
king of Edissa: neither vpon the Image of his
face geuen to Veronica, which to this day is
kept and honored in Rome, nor vpon that
which Athanasius witnesseth to haue bene
made by Nicodemus: nor vpon the constant
witnesses of many, that S. Luke the Euan-
gelist painted both Christes and our Ladies
Image: that I may let passe the Images of S.
Peter and Paul, which Siluester the B. of

De fide
Orthod.
li. 4. c. 17.

In Conclio
Nice 2.
Theodo-
rus lectos
Nisephos

lib. 6. c. 16.
 Metaphra-
 ses in vita
 S. Lucae
 Theessa. 2.

Euseb. li. 7.
 ca. 14. Trip
 li. 6. ca. 41.
 Nicephor.
 li. 5. ca. 15.
 Theoph
 in c. 9. Ma.

Rome shewed to Constantinus the Great, omitting all such traditions which our new brethren refuse, because they are not of those whom S. Paul biddeth: *keepe the traditions which were taught either by his preaching, or writing* (and yet if he had not preached that Images might be made, there had not bene so many Images among the Faithfull in the Primitiue Church, as it hath and shall appeere there were) but all those other exâples omitted, surely the Historie of the Image, which the woman that was deliuered of the issue of bloud, did sette vp in brasle for the honour of Christ in *Casarea Philippi*, that Image is so notorious, and so much spoken of in the Ecclesiasticall Histories, and so witnessed to be true by Eusebius who saw it, that M. Iewel can not call it a fable, as he doth all other holy traditions.

7. That Image of Christ was also set vp in a high place before her doore who was healed, and was in such estimation, that men came to be healed, by the Herbe, which onlie touched the hem or lowest part thereof.

8. Moreouer Eusebius plainly witnesseth, that vntill his time, certain painted Images of our Sauour, and of Peter and Paul, were preserued and had bene seene of him. In saying they were preserued, he geueth vs to vnderstand, that they were made long before,

fore, and yet he liued neere a thousand and three hundred yeares agoe. What saith then M. Iewel to this euident Testimonie?

9. Iewel. Eusebius him selfe sheweth, that the Pheniceans being Heathens, and bearing and seeing the straung miracles that had ben wrought by Christ and by his Apostles, made these Images in the honour of them, onely of their Heathenish and vaine Superstition.

In his Replie fol. 503.

10. Sander. If this tale might be proued out of Eusebius him selfe, it were very well for M. Iewels purpose. But we shall find M. Iewel as faithful of his woorde, as he is of his beliefe. They were not Heathens, but Christians who made these Images, albeit they had bene Heathens, and afterward became Christians.

11. Iewel. Eusebius woordes be these: *Nec mirum est veteres Ethnicos, beneficio affectos a Seruatore nostro, ista fecisse. It is no marueile that the Heathens receiuing such benefites of our Sa-
aiour did these things.*

Falsified.

Worse falsified,

12. Sander. Here is one fault committed in translating the Greeke words into Latine, an other in englishing his owne Latine wordes. So that whereas the Latine agreeth not with the Greeke, the English also disagreeeth with the Latine. The Greeke wordes are κ^η Σαυ-
μασόν ουδ' ἐν, τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἰθὺς ὁυπερεκθειλάς
πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, τὰν ἅπαντων ποιομένων.

Yeelef hi-
stor. lib. 7.
cap. 14.

12. Ruffinus dooth Latine it thus. *Et nihil mirum, si qui ex Gentilibus crediderant profanes, quae à Salvatore fuerant consecuti, huiusmodi velut minus videbantur offerre.* And no wonder, if such of the Gentils, as had beleueed, did seeme to offer as it were such a presente for the benefites, which they had receiued of our Sauour.

Museulus
doth not
translate
it so.

13. The whole controuersie resteth in these wordes, τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἔθνων. Which M. Iewel latineth, *Veteres Ethnicos*, and englisheth, the Heathens. His Latine is vntrue, whether it be of his owne making, or borrowed of any of his Brethren (whome perhappes he trusted in turning this place of Eusebius for him) and his English is farre worse.

14. Ruffinus doth latine those wordes thus: *Qui ex Gentilibus crediderant*, such of the Gentils as had beleueed. Is there not great oddes betweene Heathens, and such as now beleueed, though they had bene once Heathens? Doth not all the matter consist herin, whether Heathens or Christians made these Images?

15. Ruffinus saith, such of the Heathens made them, who had beleueed. M. Iewel saith, the *Heathens made them*. And he saith, that Eusebius himself sheweth it. τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἔθνων, is word for worde. *Qui erant olim ex Gentibus*, they that were in time past of the

the Heathens. Whereby it is meant, that although they were begotten of Heathens, yet when they made these Images, they were no more Heathens.

16. I tel you, M. Iewel, that Eusebius him selfe saith, that those did sette vp these Images, who were in time past of the Heathens. *πάλαι*, is *olim*, once, or in time past. But in time past was no good pastime for M. Jewels purpose, and therefore he lette it passe in good time as he thought.

Olim. is
left out by
M. Iew.

17. The latin wordes, *veteres Ethnicos* was not true, because it told not all the sense. For it is not all one to say, the old Heathens, and to say, those who were in the old time of the Heathens.

18. The old Heathens betoken Heathens of the old time, who might still haue taried Heathens: but those that once were of the Heathens, be not still old Heathens, but are signified in their owne life to haue bene, of Heathens made Faithfull, as being once of the Heathens, and now of the Christians, the which sense Ruffinus hath fully and eloquently translated.

19. I marueile, that seeing so many vnttruths and falsifyings of old writers be daily laied to Master Jewels charge, many of them being so plaine, and so inexcusable, as they are, that yet the inuentour is called to

no.

no accompt. Write we sportingly, or in earnest? Strive we for the shadow of an Asse, or els for the truth it selfe? And for the truth in meane maters, or els for the truth in maters of Salvation.

Where is
plaine
dealing?

20. Is there not one learned and zealous Protestant in all Englande, who being lead with the loue of the truth, and with freedom and liberty of conscience, will both loke whether the Fathers doe say as M. Jewel reporteth, and when he findeth him to haue moste impudently falsified their wordes and meaninges, dare to say to him: Sir you shall vnderstand, that our Gospell standeth not by lying and corrupting of the Fathers, and because you haue mainteined it by that meanes, you haue slandered our Gospell, and therefore I will purge it of that sl under by confessing your impudencie, and by mainteining the truth some other way. Better it were to denie the Fathers altogether, then whiles we pretend to haue them for vs, to be taken for most notable lyers, and to be proved so in the end.

21. Concerning the Images Eusebius speaketh of, if the matter were not exceeding plaine, that the only Faithfull Christians had made them, I would say it were not like to be true, that Christ bestowed any great cure vpon those, who should haue

haue taried still Heathens. For he much more willingly cured the soule, then the bodie.

22. Againe, though sometimes the men healed, *became vnkind and forgetfull of his benefite*, yet those who taried so mindfull thereof, as to set vp Images for his honour, were not vnkind, and therefore it is not to be doubted, but that the Faith of Christ remained still in their hartes.

Luc. c. 17.

23. Thirdly, if it could be doubted of any man els, yet not of this blessed woman, whose faith was so great, that she said in her hart: *If I only touch his garments, I shalbe safe.* And Christ gaue witnesse to her faith, saying: *Be of good cheere daughter, thy faith hath made thee safe, goe in peace.*

Math. 9.

Mar. 5.

24. Is this woman yet a Heathen, M. Iewel, who beleueth, and which is bid to goe in peace? For this woman it was, who did set vp the Image of brasle, and by the occasion of her Image, Eusebius came to speake of other Images.

Theophil.
in cap. 9.
Math.

25. But now all those arguments neede not, because the words be plaine. It is no wonder to Eusebius, if that Image of brasle bare the figure of Christ, for those that were in time past of the Gentils, did (saith Eusebius) make such things for the benefits they had receiued. But this is not all M. Iewels
falshood,

L. 7, c. 18.

falshood. Let vs then heare more]

26. *Iewel. Nam & Apostolorum Pauli & Petri, & ipsius Christi Imagines coloribus ductas & seruatas vidimus.* For we haue seene the Images of Paule and Peter, and of Christ drawne in colours & preserved.

27. *Sander.* Heere beside, *eius*, of him or his, left out in Latin & in English (which was of no importance, M. Iewel hath left out two other words, of some importance, in his English. The first is *regi*, &, that is to say, also. The second is, *ipsius* that is to say, of himselfe, the whole sense is. For we haue seene also, the Image of his Apostles Paule, and Peter, yea & of Christ himselfe, drawne in colours, & preserved.

Also, maketh much for the purpose.

28. The word, also, doth shew a new history to be told, beside that of the woman, which was healed of her issue of bloud. For whereas Eusebius fel vpon the history of that Image, which was set vp by the said woman, as it were by the way, least it should be thought that no holy Images els were among the Christians, he addeth, we, also, haue seene the Images of the Apostles, and of Christ himselfe. Not only that of Cesarea in brasse, but others also painted, and that not newlie painted, but preserved in painting. So that whereas Eusebius liued aboue three hundred yeares after Christe, he sawe painted Images of Christ himselfe,

selfe, and of his Apostles preserved: The which came from his Forefathers time to his light.

29. But O the deceit of M. Iewell, who would make vs belieue, that these other Images, of which Eusebius speaketh in the second place, that they also were only among the Gentils. For he saith:

30. *Iewel. The Phenicians being Heathens made these images in the honour of Christ & of his Apostles, only of their heathenish and vaine superstition.*

31. *Sander.* O vaine & heathenish custome of facing & bragging in you, M. Iewel. were it so, that the Heathens, tarying still Heathens, had made the Image of brasle in Phenicia (as they did not make it tarying still Heathens, but the blessed faithfull woman made it) yet it had not beene meant, that they made the other painted Images also.

32. Eusebius went from one story to another, and from a particular storie, to a more generall. So that if you had answered to the first example of the brasen Image made by the Phenicians, being still (as you suppose) Heathen, yet the second storie of the painted Images otherwise seene by Eusebius, had remained vnanswered. Shall we yet shew a farther falshood in M. Iewel, & that still in one storie?

33. *Iewel.*

26. Iewel *Et credibile est, priscos illos homines nondum relictā auita superstitione, ad hunc modum consueuisse colere illos ethnica consuetudine, tanquam Seruatores. And it may be well thought, that men in old times, being not yet removed from the superstition of their Fathers, used after this sort to worship them by an heathenish custome, as their Saviours.*

27. *San.* Heere is nothing but one vnto truth heaped vpon another. The grecke word ἀπαράλλαξις is Latined, *nondum relictā auita superstitione.* & Englished (being not yet removed from the superstition of their fathers) for that we may be sure it is that grecke word which is so Englished, & so turned into Latin, M. Iewel setteth the Greeke word by the side of his booke. And surely none other word is left to signifie any such thing, beside ἀπαράλλαξις.

28. That word as it hath none other English vnto it, so it is thus Englished (being not yet removed from the superstition of their fathers) but it is lewdly & falsely so Englished: For ἀπαράλλαξις doth signifie a changing by course or by equality, & consequentlie ἀπαράλλαξις is as much to say as without change or without difference. Now as thogh nothing in the world might remain vnto unchanged, beside the old superstition of the Heathens, so doth M. Iewel ad vnto Eusebius, more words

words then are in him, by all these, from the
superstition of their Fathers,

29. Moreouer σωτηρας, is as spiteful-
ly Englished *their Saviours*. For although the
word (among other things) doth signifie so,
yet it is also taken for thole, that preserue vs
from any danger and corporall perill. And
so was Ioseph in the Egyptians tongue cal-
led the *Sauour of the World*, for deliuering Gen. 47
of the Egyptians and the countreyes there-
about from hunger. But Maister Iewel would
haue the sense to be, as though they tooke S.
Paul and S. Peter for their redeemers. But
euery kinde of sauing is not a redeeming:
except we shall say, that when the Mother
saueth her child from beating, that then she
doth redeeme her child. The right sense of
the place is thus geuen vs by Ruffinus, who
translated Eusebius about eleuen hundred
yeres past. *Quod mihi videtur ex Gentili con-*
suetudine indifferenter obseruatum, quod ita sole-
ant honorare quos honore dignos duxerint. The
which thing (verely to make Images in the
honour of their Benefactours) seemeth to me
indifferently or vchangeably kepte from
the heathenish custome, because they are
wont so to honour those, whom they think
worthy of honour.

Eccl. hist.
li. 7. c. 14.

30. Heere Ruffinus hath translated ἀπα-
ρῳακτως, *indifferenter*, that it is to say, in-
diffe-

differently : meaning , that they made Images after their conuersion, euen as they had done before, without diuersity or difference. Also he translateth, *ὡς ὁτινες* *as quos honore dignos duxerint*, who they thinke worthy of honour. For *ὡς* doth import, *tanquam*, or *velut*, and it may be Englished (as if) Rufinus turned it by *duxerint*, whome they compted worthy of honour. For all is one to their opinion, to be worthy, or to be counted worthy. *ὁτινες*, he translateth *honore dignos*, that is to say, worthy of honour. For euery benefactour, who saueth vs from euill, or helpeth vs to any good thing, as euery kind of Saviour doth, is in that respect worthy of honour.

The true
sense of
Eusebius.

31. What is then the meaninge of Eusebius? Surely this: That the Auncient men, who were made Christians from of Heathens, were wont after their old heathenish manner, which in that behalfe they chaunged not, to honour them with Images of whome they accounted themselues to haue receiued benefite. So that *ἀπαράλλατος*, which is to say, *without change*, must not be vnderstoode, without change of beliefe & faith, but without chaunge of their former custome in setting vp Images.

The cu-
stome of
the Hea-
thens.

32. Heere of you may gather, that it was a coustme of the Heathens, to make Images
for

for the honour of men accompted honourable. And I confesse that custome, and it was a good and laudable custome, if the men were in deede honourable, whole Images were made: or if the people gaue no more honour vnto them, then they were worthy of.

33. Therefore that custome might and did come from the Gentils to the Christians, and not from the Iewes (who through pusillanimitie durst not make euen good and lawfull Images, nor yet though their law ceased, to eate good and lawfull meates) but it came to vs from the Gentils, to make Images in the honor of men worthy in deede of honour. It is also common to vs with them, that we do sacrifice in euery place, and not in Ierusalem alone.

34. That which was amisse in them, as to do sacrifice to false Gods, and to make the Images of Iupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Vulcan, as thinges worthy of honour, that we do not: but so farre as they kept the law of nature vncorrupted, so far, these Heathens being made Christians changed not their olde custome. For S. Paule confesseth, that the Gentils who had not the law of Moyse, yet did some things which were of the Law, naturally. That is to say, by the helpe and light of God, which through the Law of nature he gaue vnto them. And that this my inter-

Rom. 12

K

pretation

pretation is good, it is euident by diuerse Argumentes taken out of the said place of Eusebius.

an aduerb

35. First, the Aduerb in construction must be ioyned to the Verb, for thereof it hath his name, being called an Aduerb, as if a man would say, a thing belonging to the Verb, or to some Participle deriued from the Verb: as here the Greeke Aduerb ἀπαράλλακτως, belongeth to the Greeke participle ζῶντων, as also Ruffinus hath ioyned the Latin Aduerb, *indifferenter*, to the Latin participle *obseruatum*, and consequently it should in English likewise haue bene referred after this sort. The old men of their Heathenish custome *were wont without change*, to worship among them selues after this sorte their benefactours.

36. But M. Iewel hath referred the Aduerb, ἀπαράλλακτως, to the nowne which went before it, and that also, whereas, no article was ioyned vnto the Aduerb. He hath made such a Construction, as if it had bene said: *The Heathens tarying still vnchaunged*.

37. It is not readen, Ἰὼν ἱθυικῶν, the Heathens, but Ἰὼν παλαιῶν, the Auncient men. Neither it is readen, that the old men caried vnchaunged in their Religion, but, ἀπαράλλακτως is without their article before it, or anie such Participle after it. And the sense is, the

the Auncient men, wherein no Heathenish superstition is meant, but onlie the Antiquitie of the Faithfull Christians: the Auncient Christians *without change*, by an Heathenish Custome, to honour among them selues their Benefactours, with setting vp Images, which might beare their name, and make them to be remembred.

38. And that the worde, παλαιῶν, doth not belong to Auncient Heathens, but to Auncient Christians, the sense of the place doth shew. For whie should he saie, that they vsed to doe so without change, if them selues had in no pointe bene chaunged? It were a wise tale to saie, that Heathens raryinge Heathens, doe without change vse, after the Heathenish Custome, to Honour their Benefactours, with settinge vp their Images. παλαιῶν

39. I praie you, what newes were that? But for a Christian, who is changed from an Heathen, for him to doe it still after the Heathenish custome, and his Faith beinge chaunged, not to change his old custome, that is a thing worthe to be told.

40. For there is a difference in such a betweene himself and betweene his owne deed. Himselfe is changed in Faith, but not changed in that kind of custome. And so without change he doth that, which seemeth not now to belong to him. It seemeth not (I say)

to belong to him, but in deede it becommeth him right wel.

Con. Fau.
lib. 20
cap. 18.

41. For (as S. Augustine hath well noted) when S. Paule reproveth the Gentils for offering to Idols, *Non quod offerebatur culpat, sed quia illis offerebatur*. He blameth them not because Sacrifice was made, but because it was made to the Devils. And againe: *Non ideo contemnenda vel detestanda est Virginitas sanctimonialum, quia & vestales Virgines fuerunt*. The virginities of Nonnes is not therefore to be despised or to be detested, because the maidens of the false Goddesse Vesta, were also Virgins. And last of all: *Non*

Ibidē c. 21

Ibidē c. 23.

similiter cum Gentibus vivimus easdem res non ad eundem finem referendo, sed ad finem legitimum divinique praecepti. We live not in like sorte with the Gentils, for that we referre not the same thinges to the same ende (as they did) but we referre them to the end of a lawful & godly commaundement, which is Charity grounded vpon a good Faith.

The ende
of euerie
deed maketh the
matter.

42. To applie this to our purpose, we make Images as the Heathens did, not abstaining to make them, as the Iewes did abstaine: but yet we live not in like sort with the Heathens. For we make not our Images of the same persons whereof they made them, nor to the same ende. They made the Image of Iupiter; we make the Image of Christ. They

for

for the honour of the Deuil : We for the honour of God , But hereof more shalbe said hereafter.

43. There followeth in Eusebius, immediately in the next line and worde after the sentence, whereof now we haue spoken, an other most euident reason, which sheweth that Eusebius meante, *Ἰὼν παλαιῶν*, to be the Auncient Christians, and not the Heathens, who still taried Heathens. *ἵνα γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον*, & cat. For the brethren there by Succession, that is to say, as Ruffinus doth declare, the Bishoppes who succeeded one after an other, esteeme and embrace the chaier of S. Iames the Apostle, which is kept euen hitherto.

Ec. Hist. li.
7. ca. 15.
apud Ruf.
finum.

44. Know you not M. Iewel, that *γὰρ* is to say (for? Know you not that, for, geueth a reason of that which wente before? What went before? You say, it went before, that the old men tarying in their Heathenish superstition, vsed to set vp Images. Wel: then Eusebius must geue a cause thereof, when he saith: *Iacobi enim Cathedram huc vsque conseruatam*, fratres qui ibi sunt per successionem colunt. For the brethren which are according to succession, make much of, and honour the chaire of S. Iames kept vntill this daie.

Fos

45. Now put together. The olde men keeping their heathenish superstition, saith M. Iewel, doe honour their Benefactours

with Images, because the brethren at Ierusalem do honour the chaire of S. Iames. Doth not this geare hang well together?

46. O curled lying spirit, which posseseth M. Iewel. And O dreadfull iudgement of them, that hauing his impietie laied before their eyes, doe still honour him as a Minister of the truth.

47. Eusebius maketh no such foolish connection of matters, as to say, the Heathens doe the one, because the Christians doe the other. But he saith, the Auncient men (therby meaning the Auncient Christians being made Faithfull from Heathens, which they were once) did vie after the Heathenish fashion without chaunge (in that behalfe) to honour their Benefactours with setting vp their Images. How proue you that? For saith he, the Bretheren there, to witte, the Christian Bishoppes at Ierusalem, keepe to this daie and honour Saint Iames Chaier.

48. For this Participle *σεβίζουσιν*, doth manifestly declare, that they honoured or gaue a reuerence to the Chaier, because *σεβίζουσιν* *σεβίζω*, is to worshippe, to embrace, and to esteeme highly. Whereby it may appeere, that it hath beene an olde custome with the olde Christians, to reuerence honourable Personages, by hauing, keeping, and Reuerencing

reſencing the Reliques, Monumentes and Images of them.

49. But hath Eusebius yet done with this honour geuen to honourable personages by their Images? No surely. For it followeth: *ἡμεῖς τοῖς πατρίσι ἐπιδεδεικνύμεθα ὡς.* & *cat.* (the bretheren at Ierusalem esteeming so much S. Iames chaier) Euidently shew to all men, in what maner, both those that were in the old time, and those that be euen till our daies, haue mainteined, and yet doe mainteine a worthy reuerence and worship of holy men, for their Godlines sake. This is the whole place of Eusebius. Whereby it is manifest, that he alloweth and stoutly defendeth the honour which is geuen to Saints by their Images and Reliques. And he fetcheth the vse thereof from the old time, and continueth the same till his owne time.

50. *Iewel.* By these wordes of Eusebius it is plain, that the vse of Images came not from Christ, or from the Apostles, as M. Harding saith.

51. *Sander.* Damascene told you otherwise, as I haue shewed before. Yea Eusebius also told you otherwise. For he deduced the making of Images, and the honouring of Reliques by the Faithfull, vnto Christes owne time, saying that the chair of S. Iames, was honoured by them that succeeded one after another vntill his daies.

Li. 4 c 17

Lib. 7 c 14
& 11. in
Ruffino.

52. *Iewel.* But the making of Images came from the superstitious custome of the Heathens.

53. *Sander.* The first act or exercise of making of Images among Christians, came (as farre as we know) from such as had bene Heathens, in this respect, because they who first made Images, were rather such Christians as had bene once Heathens, then such as had bene once Iewes. For the Iewes (by like) were more scrupulouse in that behalfe. But the custome of making such Images, as those Heathens beinge now Christians did make in the honour of Christ, concerning the authoritie of making Images, came from the law of Nations, and therefore it was no superstitious custome. Neither doth Eusebius call it so in his Greeke history, albeit M. Iewel maketh him speak so in Latine and in English.

54. *Iewel.* Neither doth it appeere that those Images were sette vp in any Church.

55. *Sander.* D. Harding as yet sheweth onlie the antiquitie of Images, and commeth afterward to speake of them, as they were sette vp in Churches.

56. *Iewel.* As for the Image of Christ, it is plaine it stood in the streete abroad, and an herbe of strange operation grew vnderneath it.

57. *Sander.* Eusebius nameth more then one Image of Christ. For he saw also painted

ted Images of the Apottles, and of Christ himfelfe. And where was it fo like he fhould fee them (fpecially in the time of Conftantins the Greate) as in the Church? But where you fay, it is plaine that Chriftes Image ftood in the ftreat abroad: it ftode there in deeде, but it ftode honorably, as being fette vp for Chriffs honour. And when *Julianus the Renegate* had throwen it downe (as you, M. Iewel, and your companions doe throw downe Chriftes Image, wherefoever you may find it) after that time, the pieces of his Image were caried into the Church alfo, as we reade in the *Tripartite Hiftorie*.

58. *Statuam verò Chrifitunc quidem Pagani trahentes confregerunt. Poftea verò Chriftiani colligentes in Ecclefiam recondiderunt, vbi hactenus refervatur.* The Paynims at that time drew a long, and brake Chriftes Image. But afterward the Chriftians gathering it vp, did lay it vp in the Church, where it is kept to this day. Tripart li. 6. cap 41.

59. O if it were M. Iewels chaunce to come into the fame Church, where that Image of Chrift were kept, what wold he doe to it? Whether would he breake it againe into smaller peeces, then euer the Paynims did? Or els would he make much of it, and keepe it for a Relique, as the Chriftians of thofe coun-

countreyes did twelue hundred yeares past? whome would you more gladly follow, M. Iewel? Speake if you dare. Would you be like the Christians? Then some Images are so highly to be esteemed, that euen when they are broken, their peeces are proued worthy of the reseruing in a Christian Church. Or would you be like *the Renegate Iulianus*, & the Paynims? Goe to your kind then, M. Iewel, & trouble no more our realme, which would gladly be accompted a Christian realme.

60. But to returne to our purpose, if that Image of Christ being broken, was worthy to be kept in a Christian Church, how much more was it worthy to stand there being yet whole? But when it was set vp in the street, the Christians had no Church at all.

The honouring
of Christs
Image.

61. Now if this be not the giuing of honour to Christs Image, euen after that it is no more an Image, yet to gather vp the broken peeces thereof, and to put them in a holy place, I cannot tell what we shall accompt the honouring of Images to be.

62. Was this an Idol, M. Iewel, whose peeces the Christians so reuerentlie reserued about twelue hūdred yeres past? Brieflie Images haue been vsed amonge the Christians euer since Christs time. And M. Iewel to mak the contrarie appeare, hath falsified many waies

waies the publicke Histories of the Church.

63. First, he maketh vs belieue, that Eusebius onlie speaketh of such holie Images, as the Phenicians made, whereas he speaketh of diuerse other which himselfe saw painted.

64. Secondlie, he affirmeth that the Images were made by Heathens, only of their Heathenish and vaine superstition: whereas the Images were made by Christians, who had been Heathens, but were become faithfull.

65. Thirdly, he corrupteth Eusebius, by leauing out in his English, the Greeke word *παλαι*, *olim*, once, or in time past, vpon which word, the whole controuersie dependeth.

66. Fourthlie, he addeth to Eusebius all these words of his owne (*the superstition of their Fathers*) to make his owne forged sense probable.

67. Fifthly, Eusebius proueth by the religious keeping of S. Iames chaire, that it is no wonder, if the Auncient Christians did make Images for the honor of them of whom they had receaued benefits, which thing M. Iewel wresteth to another sense.

68. Last of all, it is euident by Eusebius, that the Christians did reuerence and honour the very chaire of S. Iames, for so he speaketh, *καθήμενος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεδρῷ*, *colentes cathedram Iacobi*, worshipping or higly esteeming the

the chaire of Sainct Iames : not worshipping it as God (as by and by this wrangler would make men belieue we meane) but worshipping it with such conuenient reuerence, as is due to holy Reliques and Images, or to the remembrances of good and godly men.

That by the law of nature, honour is due to the Images and Monuments of honourable Personages. And by what meanes that may be knowne.

THE XI. CHAPTER.

1. **V** Heras God hath ruled his people in diuerse manners & sorts, sometimes by inspiring his will secretly to the Patriarches and Prophets (as concerning sacrifice to be made of cleaner beastes, *a* and of the best) at other times by expresse commaundement geuen by outward voice (as *b* concerning Circumcision) and also by custome and tradition of his people from hand to hand (as *c* in bewailing the dead) againe afterward, by geuing them a *d* written letter of the law, and last of all, by *e* writing his owne law of grace and spirit in their harts : in all these varieties, the Law of Nature hath stood alwaies immutable, and

a Gen. 4.
& 3.

b Gen. 17.

c Gen. 23.

& 50.

Deut. 34.

d Exod.

31. & 34.

e Iere. 31.

Heb. 8

The law
of nature
is neuer
changed.

and hath continued one & the same evermore, in Paradise, before the Flood, in the time of Circumcision, in the time of Moyses law, & of the Gospell.

2. For albeit the vse thereof in time past, hath been for a time, in some one place stopped by some secret dispensation (as in permitting many wiues to one man) or els corrupted by euill custome: yet the vniuersall right thereof hath not been vtterly changed, nor at all taken away. It was euer the law of Nature to acknowledge a God, & to honour him, for one man to haue but one wife at once, to loue and reward him who doth a good turne, to honour vertue, and to punish vice.

Gen. 4. &
29.

Exod. 20.
Gen 2.
Matth. 19.
Luc. 6.

3. Wherefore it is a matter worthy the knowing, whether as Images may be made by the law of nature (for that I take to be now proued, because the arts of painting & of grauing are laudable and in vse among all nations) so likewise they may be honoured and esteemed by the same law, or no. Yf we find that naturally the Images of honourable Persons may be worshipped, they must needs be vnnaturall men, who haue pulled them downe, and thereby haue dishonoured them.

How the
law of na-
ture may
be kno-
wen,

4. To find out what the law of Nature is in any case, two speciall grounds doe helpe

vs. The one is, the iudgement of right and sound reason: the other is, the vniuersall vse and like practise of all Nations. Concerning the rule of right and sound reason, it seemeth to me, that God who made man of such condition & state as must come to all his knowledge by similitudes and images, hath geuen him also this naturall instinct, that when the inward Image represented to him, is apprehended as good and laudable, then he loueth it: when it is apprehended as impious and vn honest, that then he detesteth and abhorreth it.

Of internal Images.

4. Let vs omitte for a time artificiall Images, and speake only of those which are formed in euery mans owne soule or minde. One telleth me, *that Christ dyed, only to saue man from euerlasting paines.* Doth not this saying cause me (who heare attentiuely and be-lieue those words) straight to cōceauē Christ dying for my sake? And am I not straight mooued to loue him, who hath done this great good turne euen for his enemy?

Rom. 5.

5. Well: this loue so prouoked in me, to whom doth it chiefly belong? To Christ, or to him that told me the storie, or to the Image which I conceaued in my mind by hearing the storie? There can be no doubt, but, (if I heare it as I ought) both my vnderstanding, and my will is so immediatly cari-

ed

ed to Christ, that in comparison thereof, I forgette both him that speake, & the inward image which was printed in me, and thinke only vpon Christ himselfe.

6. Whereby we learne, that an Image is not a thing made for it selfe, but for an other end, which end is not only more principall then the Image, but also it is naturally more acceptable vnto him, who taketh ioyfull information thereof. In so much that, when a man heareth tydings which he moste desired to heare, although he learned it by the meane and seruice of his owne inward imagination, yet he so much thinketh of the thing, that he forgetteth all other matters in the world.

Note how the thing is the cheifest of all;

7. But when the mind is loosed from that great and sodaine affection which it bare to the thing it selfe, and will againe solace it selfe with repeting and calling to remembrance the same thing, then the Image thereof (whereunto the mind returneth) being vewed at leisure, doth please more and more: and according as it is good, vertuous, or delectable, so doth the man loue, honour, or imbrace the same. And whiles the mind readeth backward (as it were in its inward booke) the whole order of the historie, it cometh to his remembrance at the length who told that matter to him, that consequently

The image pleaseth secondarily.

The re-
ward for
a good
message.

sequently heloueth, honoreth, or imbraceth him also. Of this naturall instinct it cometh, that all Princes & great men geue rewards to those, who bring them good tidings.

9. Thus, whereas three things do con-
curre, the thing which is told, the inward
image whereby I learned it, and the repor-
ter: the chiefe & first honour naturally be-
longeth to the thing it selfe, the second to
the inward image, which was the next mean
of apprehending the tidings, the third to the
reporter:

The first
cause of
honoring
artificiall
images.

10. Now seing the outward Image made
artificially, beareth the office of a reporter
(so oft as I see an image, the signification
whereof is knowne to me) it cannot be de-
nied, but the said Image necessarily and natu-
rally deserueth so much honour of me, as he
that should haue told me that selfe thing, if
no Image had been there to haue done it.

Basil. Ho-
mil. in 4.
Martyr.

11. What skilleth it, whether I learne by
hearing, or by seing? wherupon S. Basil saith:
*Res in bello fortiter gestas tum eloquentes homi-
nes saepe numero, tum pictores exprimunt: illi ser-
mone ornantes, hi tabulis deliniantes, & virique
multos ad fortitudinem excitarunt.* Oftentimes
both the eloquent men, and also the pain-
ters do expresse (& sette forth) the valiant acts
done in war: they adorning the matter with
words, & these drawing the same forth in
tables;

ables, & so both of them haue stirred vp many to do valiant actes.

12. If then aswell the Painter as the Orator do prouoke many to fortitude, & yet the Painter doth it, by leauing an Image behind him which may worke that feate: it is cleere, that a good Image deserueth that place of honour (be it litle or great) which is due to him, who telleth vs good newes.

13. Moreouer the Image is by so much in the better case to be honored (then that Orator) by how much it hath more affinity with my inward Image, then the Oratours words had. For it serteth to me both in the whole steede of the Oratour, & also in part of the steede of fourming the inward Image, because it geueth me the very expresse forme & figure already made, which my vnderstanding must conceaue: whereas if I learned the matter by words, I must haue taken the paine to haue changed the shape of the words into an other forme, & thereof to haue fourmed a visible image.

The second cause of honouring artificiall Images.

14. For the eye being the highest & most spirituall outward sense, is most ready to instruct the mind after that sort, as it apprehendeth euery thing.

15. By which meanes we are come to the case, that the painted Image is an easier and a more liuely way to instruct vs, then any Ora-

L

tour;

Speech vs
easily and
liuely.

tour: and thereby it deserueth also more honour, then any Oratour, in so much that, we say of him who can tell his tale most liuely, that he seemed to paint it forth, and to doe it, rather then to speake and report it.

Exod. 20.

De decem
præceptis.

16. Therefore when God gaue the ten Commaundements to the Children of Israel, his words were not only heard, but euen visibly seene, as the holy Scripture doth witnesse. *Cunctus autem populus videbat voces,* the whole people, *saw the words.* Vpon which place Philo (that learned and auncient Iew) writeth in this wise. *Flamma in propriam loquelam auditoribus assuetam articulatum distincta erat, qua quidem ea qua dicebantur, aded clare & perspicue efferebat, vt populus illam oculis cernere, potius quam auribus accipere videretur.*

17. A flame of fire was particularly distinguished into a proper forme of speache, such as the hearers were accustomed vnto, which flame did vtter those things which were said, so clerely and euidently, that the people did seem rather to see the speach with their eyes, then to here it with their eares.

God preferred
Images before
onlie sounds of
words.

18. Seing this miraculouse kind of speach was chosen of God, as the more worthie, and more liuely way, to speake rather to the peoples eyes, then to their eares, and to speake by deedes as well as by wordes (for the making of the flame to appeere in such sort, was
a fact

a fact and a deede, yea also it was an outward Image) painting and grauing which haue the same effect, and containe a deede or worke in themselues which is vttered to our eyes, are by the same reason, a more worthy and honorable kind of reporting, then that which is done by bare words.

19. Thus haue we two considerations, for the which Images naturally deserue some kind of honour. But the third passeth the other twaine. For whereas in the degrees which I made before, the ioyfull thing it selfe which is tolde, had worthely the first place of honour, the artificial Image is so nighly ioyned to the thing it selfe also, that therefore it deserueth most honor of all. If any Orator describe Christes death, or Gods loue and mercy vnto me, he deserueth honour of me. First generally, as the reporter of a good thing: secondly, as the occasion of a good inward Image, the which is particularly formed in me according to his wordes: Thirdly, as one that hath some affinitie with Christ, of whom he speaketh.

The third cause of honouring artificial Images,

20. And therein I consider, how nigh he approacheth to Christ. If he be an Ethnick (as Sybilla) or a Iew (as Iosephus) I honour him as ioyned to Christ in a certaine natural loue of the truth, and in moral honesty, but not as one knownen to be made a member of his

The degrees of honour due to the messenger

n respect
as he is
ioyned to
God or to
Christ.

Myfticall body by Baptisme . If he be bapti-
fed, I honour him much more: and yet more,
if he be a Deacon, or Priest , or Bishop , and
fo be made the publicke Minister of Gods
word.

21. But if it be a Prophet, there is in him
a higher grace of dignitie , worthy of a spe-
ciall estimation for the extraordinary gift,
which God hath indewed him withall. But
we must sette the Apostles aboue all those
other degrees, whome Christ hath taken so
nigh to him, as to make them fit vpon twelue
seates with him in iudgement.

Matt. 19.

Hebr. 1.

22. But if the Oratour be Gods owne na-
turall Sonne (as Christ is) what honour is he
worthy of , in such respect as he telleth vs
good tydings from his Father, whom only
with his Sonne and with the holy Ghost, we
loue and honour for true God?

Note.

23. This being so, that the Oratour is more
and more honoured, according as he cometh
neere to Christ , or to God , whose messen-
ger he is: forasmuch as when the Image of
Christ is the Oratour, it is so nigh to him,
that it is his owne likenes , and similitude,
doutlesse it ought to haue a singular preroga-
tiue of honour in that respect alio.

24. For if a Prophet or an Apostle talke
to me of Christ, although in grace he be ve-
rie nigh ioyned to him, and also in Ministry
and

and authoritie : yet he is a distinct Person from Christ. As for example, he is S. Peter, or S. Paule. And the honour geuen to him, doth stay in him, because he is a reasonable creature, which is able to deserue, to partake, and to reteine honour. And from him it goeth to Christ (whose Messenger he is) but yet, as from one distinct person, to another, the which passage is not without some stayinge by the way. But when the Image of Christ speaketh to vs (as it doth alwaies to them, that haue spirituall eares of vnderstanding, it (as an image) hath no *person or substance of its owne*, which may be separated from Christ : but only it beareth the shape and likenes of Christ, according to his humane nature. Lette the Image of Christ be grauen in wood, if it be asked of me, what subsisting, what hypostasis, what proprietie among thinges, or what seuerall being this thing hath, I answer: As it is wood, it hath such a seuerall being and kinde of proprietie, as belongeth to wood, but as the Image of Christ, it hath no peculiar being or person at all, but hath onlie the shape and forme of Christes Manhood carued or grauen out in the wood. In that it hath no person proper to it selfe (as being an Image) it hath no power, nor meane, not only not to deserue honour to it selfe, but neither to receaue ho-

Honour
is due to
the Persⁿ.

nour for it selfe, nor to keepe and reteine honour in it selfe.

Damas li.
1. cap 6.

25. As the wordes which men speake, being for the time spread and multiplied in the aier, haue no seuerall substance of their owne (for only the word of God hath a person of its owne) and as our wordes lacking a peculiar person, can receaue no peculiar honour to themselues, but all that is done to them, must needes passe ouer, either to the speaker, or to the thing spoken of: so fareth it with Images. To which what soeuer honour we geue (as to images, I meane, and not as vnto materiall substances) it must needes passe away to that thing, which they represent.

26. For which cause, the honour necessarily passeth from them without any stay, and it is geuen (by the minde of him that seeth the Image) to the principall truth, before the image haue any honour at all. And part of the same honour cometh to the Image, as to a most wise and speedy instrument, which for his speedy Ministry, and nighnes to the truth, is to be honored with, in, and for the truthes sake: but so far behind the truth (when it is considered a part from it) as a likeness, or instrument (be it neuer so nighly ioyned) is behind the thing it selfe. A man will say vnto me: Is then the Image of Christe
more

The ob-
jection.

more worthy of honour, then S. Peter or S. Paule?

27. These blessed Apostles are worthy of The an-
honour in their owne persons, almost incom- swere,
parably aboue any artificial Image, because
they shall liue in hohour with Christ for e-
uer. Whereas an Image in its person can
be worthy of no honour at all, because (as
it is an Image) it hath no person of its owne.
But when we speake of the honour which is
due to the Image, not as a thing consisting
of it selfe, but as reporting, and only repor-
ting, and necessarily reporting the shape of
Christ vnto vs, and as a thing so nighly ioy-
ned to Christ, that beside him it hath no true
being at all, and in him the veritie thereof
hath a most true being and subsisting: in such
respect, the honour due to the Image is grea-
ter, then that which is due to any other man
(reporting the same tydings) for the only
reports sake. For now we must respect the
reporter (whether it be a man, a writing, or
an Image) according to that nighnes, which
it hath with the thing reported, and not any
otherwise.

28. The man, as one that reporteth freely
and voluntarily, deserueth an other kind of
reward, which the letters or image can not
deserue, for lacke of reason, and of free will.
But as the written letter or Image reporteth

necessarily, and according to the imitation of nature: so the honour due to them is necessary, and a naturall kinde of honour, with perpetuall respect of that, whose Image it beareth. Fewer wordes would serue, if all men were so quickly instructed, as some be.

A brief repetition
of that
which
went before.

29. But for as much as I write to instruct, let it be no grieve to the Reader, if I say once againe, that the Image of an honourable truth represented, and as it were, liuely reported, is by good and right reason, worthy of some honour, not as deseruing honour by grace and free will, but as hauing it belonging to its condition and proprietie, and that for three causes.

- 1 30. First, for that it maketh vs to know
- 2 or to remember a good thing. Secondly,
- 3 because it informeth our vnderstandinge most liuely and speedily. Thirdly, because it is a thing more nighly ioyned to the originall veritie (in that it beareth the naturall shape thereof) then any other thing is (such I meane as yet is no naturall part or relique of the veritie it selfe) exceptinge only a naturall Image, which representeth the very substance of his originall. If common sense and sound iudgement shew this matter to be true, if when I may honour the truth represented to me, I may, and must necessarily honour the inward Image wherein it is represented.

presented (because I can not at that instant divide the one from the other) and if thence I may come to honour the occasion of the said Image, and of that my good remembrance (least I acknowledge not those meanes whereby God hath informed me) if an artificial Image communicate most intirely with all three causes, which are all worthy of honour: if it be the shape of the thing it selfe, the patterne of my inward Image, and the occasion thereof, lette either mans nature be made a new, and God the author thereof be reproued (which is abominable to thinck of) or lette nature haue its course, in honouring the inward and outward image, of a truth worthy to be honoured. This much for the finding out of honour naturally due to Images, according to the way of right & sound reason.

31. The second, way to come vnto the knowledge of the Law of nature, is, by marking wherein all, or most parte of nations, haue at all times agreed. For albeit the Persians in despite of nature, wold company with their Mothers or sisters, yet other Nations generally abhorring from that abuse, do shew that the Persians by free will and for lack of good Magistrates, did violently break the Law of Nature, the which in other places was reuerently obserued. Such things as all men keepe and obserue, are of two conditions.

Euseb. de
præparat.
Euangel.
li. 1. c. 3.

Pöponius
& Floren-
tinus de
Iustitia &
Iure in
pandectis
Luc. 6.

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Of Images, and

ditions. Some, are by only naturall instinct common to all: as, to defend our selues, to honor our parents, to loue our children, and briefly, to knowe, *that we ought to do that vnto others, which we would haue others do to vs.* Other things are not so naturally borne with vs, but they are afterward so grafted in vs, that they become, as it were, naturall, that is to say, to abstaine from marrying with certaine degrees of our nighe kinred or alliance, to make them prisoners whom we take in iust battell, to sette a Prince or gouernement ouer vs, and to bind our selues to liue within a prescript order and Law. Whether the honoring of Images be of the first or second order of the law of nature, although it skillerh not much (sithens both are good, and both to be obserued) yet the ground of honouring internall Images, is in the first order of the law of Nature, because we are naturally borne to learne by internall images, and must needes naturally honour the holy thing which we learne, together with the Image therof, as wherin only the mind seeth, and consequently straight honoureth that thing. When Christ crucified, is shewed to my vnderstanding in the parte imaginatiue of my soule, if I detest that Image and say, *I will not honour thee, thou art an Idol, or thou art only a natural Image, and not worthy of ho-*
nour,

I am worse the a brute beast. For a beast apprehending the Image of a thing good for followeth it naturally, and imbraceth it with all his force.

32. But if when Christ Crucified is represented to me, I doe geue honour to the inward Image, and must do so by force of nature (if at the least Christ crucified do please me) doubtlesse the necessitie of honouringe good and honorable internall Images (for of them now I speake) is grounded in vs, and borne with vs, according to the first and highest order of nature.

33. But yet the vse of making externall and artificiall Images, rather came in (according to the imitation of nature) long afterward (as all other handy crafts) then was borne together with vs. And for that cause, aswell the Law of Moyse in the old time, as now the Law of the Church, might, for iust causes, moderate, or in some part inhibit the making of artificiall Images. For that which was begunne by mans owne inuention, may be restrained by the law of wise Gouvernours.

34. But either to teache, that Images may not be made at all, or when they are lawfully made, and doe represent an honorable person, to teache that they may not be conveniently worshipped, it is against the Law
of

of Nations (concerning the making of Images) and (concerning the worshipping) it against the Law of Nature, which teaches some honour to be naturally due to all ho signes, and much more to Images, which are most liuely and speedy representations of the truth, and very highly ioyned to the truth selfe.

The art of
making
Images
is good.

Note

35. In so much that I would think it a Law farre more tolerable, to say, *Lette no Image of Christ, or of the Saintes be made*, then to say *Though they be made, let them not be worshipped*. Wholy to forbid the making of Christs Image, it is an vnreasonable law. For if the art of making Images be the imitation of nature, and therefore be good and laudable, what reason can beare, that Christes name and remembrance may not be sette forth by imagerie, as well as other mens names? Or why not by imagerie, as well as by writing? for asmuch as writing also, is but an art inuented by men.

36. But yet he that shall forbid Christes Image to be made in some one place, for a certain godly purpose or after some one manner, it might be well done. Howbeit if any man were so bent, that he wold wholly forbid the making of Christs Images in all cases & conditions, that law (which semeth to me vnreasonable) should only breake the law of Nations,

ons, which is brought in by the good vse
and laudable practise of many countreis. But
that should say, *Though you make Christes
image, I charge you honour it not*, should make
law much worse, then the former was.

A filthy
decree.

37. For though it be not the Law of Na-
ture precisely, to make an image, yet when
the image is made, if it do signify a truth
worthy of reuerence, it is vtterly against Na-
ture, to forbid the honour of it. For as it is
lesse euill, to say, *Lette vs haue no King at all*,
then to say, *Lette vs not honour the King, though
we haue one*: so it is lesse euill wholly to for-
bid the making of holy Images (though it be
euill) then to forbid the honouring of them,
when they are made. The one taketh away
the vse of Nations, which in part may be
well embarred: the other denieth the Law
of Nature, the which possibly can not be
changed.

38. To leaue this argument, and to returne
to the laudable custome of all Countreyes,
what Nation hath euer yet beene heard of,
so barbarouse, or so rude, the which hath
not shewed a singular affection of honour
to all Monuments of those men, whome
they haue taken for vertuous & godly? which
thing is euidently confirmed, by the great re-
uerence which hath euermore ben don to the
Images of Kings & of Emperours: and like-
wise

the fourth
cause of
honoring
Images.

Cod. de
stat & I-
mag &
Tit. sequēt
a. 5. de fi-
nib 2. de
legibus
b. Plin li
39.
c Theodde
cura græc.
affect. li 8.
1. Aduer-
sus Vigi-
lantium.
2. Cōt. Fau-
stum. li. 19
3. Hom in
40 Mart.
4. Lib. 4.
epist 5.
Eccles. 24.

wise by the reuerence that all posterity ha-
euer geuen, to the bodies, Reliques, Tumb-
Althes, Images, and to the verie names and
Titles of their vertuouse Predecessours.

39. Of which kind of honour among he-
thens Cicero, b Pliny, and c Theodoretus do
speake. And among those who beleueed on
God the like was done, as both 1 S. Hieron
2 S. Augustin. 3 S. Basil 4 S. Cyprian, and
diuerse other Fathers doe witnesse. Yeain
affirmed of the wise man, *that the memorial*
Moyes (and the like is of all iust men) *is ble*
sed. The Greeke word γὸ μνημόσυνον, doth
signify any Monument, which bringeth v
to the memory of the man. So that, be
whatsoever thing which maketh vs remem-
ber Christ, or his Apottles, and Saints, it is
in that respect pronounced among the ble-
sed thinges of God. And do not the Images
of the Saints, bring vs to the remembrance of
them?

The an-
swering
of an ob-
iection.

40. Neither doth it much skil, that those
who lacked faith, went many, yea most times
to farre in this kind of honour (because they
turned mortal men into Gods) for therein we
follow them not. But that thing wherein all
Nations agreed, neuer lacked some truth in
it, as being either it selfe the Law of Nature,
or most agreable to Nature.

41. All Nations worshipped those whom
they

they tooke for Gods, they did sacrifice to them, they honoured and mainteined the Priests and Ministers of their Gods. They honoured the Images and Monuments of noble and vertuouse personages, they buried honorably those that had died for their Countrey, and much more those who had died for Religion.

42. All these deedes haue some truth in the Law of nature, although there were some falshood mingled by the Heathens in the practise thereof. But how shall we know the truth from the falshood? Verily by the consent of their lawes and deedes ioyned together.

43. That thing, wherein the Law and practise of euerie Nation agreeth together, is thereby knowen to haue proceeded from the inclination of nature, and therefore to be good in that behalfe. All Nations worshipped one God or other, but not all the same God, nor all many Gods: for the Iewes professed the worship of one God alone, so did the Sybils, so did the Platonists, and so did many Philosophers and Poets, as many ancient Fathers haue witnessed. Therefore it is not onlie the Law of God (which the Iewes alone had) but also it is the Law of Nature (which all Nations had, though many of them corrupted it) to haue one God worshipped,

Justinus
Martyr de
monarch.
Clemens
Alex. in
pedagogo
Athanas.
de Idols.
Augusti-
nus de ci-

uitate
Dei.

176

Of Images, and

shipped, for therein only they agreed. For he that
worshipped many Gods, worshipped one also

44. Likewise al they made sacrifice, one Countrie one way to one God, & an other Countrie, an other way to an other God. But wherein they disagreed, let vs leaue them: that is to say, let not vs make diuerse Sacrifices to diuerse Gods: but wherein they agreed, let vs know that to be the law of nature: verily that some externall sacrifice be made to one God.

De prepar
Euan li. 1.
ca. 7. li. 8.
ca. 2 3. 4.

45. They all had a certaine Religion, but not all the same Religion. For Eusebius sheweth, that the Phenicians had one, the Egyptians an other, the Grecians the third, the Phrygians the fourth, the Mores, the fifth, and so forth. So many Religions let vs not haue, but as all they had one, so let vs all haue one, and let it be that which is most Catholike and most vniuersall. For God neuer suffered the whole world vniuersally to erre, least the error should be inuincible, and not able to be perceaued.

Note.

All natiōs
honoured
their I-
mages,
who were
worthy of
honour.

46. Many Nations, yea all honoured the Images of noble and vertuous Personages, by carying them forth in great pompe, by setting them in high places, and strewing flowers vpon them, and by decking them with garlands, and by pointing to them whiles any oration was made, either praising, or wondering at those mens vertue, whole
Images

Images they were.

47. So did the Athenians sette vp a golden Image of Socrates in the Temple, as Terullian witnesseth. And likewise of them that killed Pisistratus, as Theodoretus writeth. So did the Romans sette vp the Images of Cocles, of Horatius, of Sulpitius and of Constantinus, who was made with the Image of the Crosse in his right hand, and of diuerse others, who had bene either vallant Capitaines, or wise and politicke Seniors. Yea euery mans house was filled with the Images and Monumentes of his Ancestours. And the Christian Emperours, Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius and Valentinian, doe them selues allow the honour done to them by erecting their Images, although they well forbid adoration to be made vnto them, lest the faithfull should seeme to communicate therein with the Heathen.

48. The Iewes also had the Images of two Cherubins, not only grauen in the Propitiatory, but also both grauen in the wals of the Temple, and wouen and stitched in the veile, as it is witnessed in the Bookes of the Kings, and of the Paralipomenon. And they worshiped those Images & the whole Tēple for his sake whose Tēple it was, & for the honorable representatiōs & reliques which were

In Apologetico.

li 8 de curat. græca. affect.

Euseb. li. 9
apud Rufinum c. 9.
Plinius li.

39.
Cod. de stat. & Imag.

Exo. 25.

3. Reg. 6.
2. Paral. 3.

in it, to wit, for the Images of the Cherubins, for Manna, for the Rod of Aaron, and for the Altars of gold which were in the Tēple. Whereupon S. Hierom saith, *venerabantur Iudaei Sancta Sanctorum, quia ibi erant Cherubim &c.* The Iewes worshipped the most holie places, *because the Cherubins were there.*

Ad Marcellam,

49. If then all Nations did geue honour to the Images of noble and vertuouse personages (albeit some were accompted noble and vertuouse among them, who in deede were not so) yet herein they agreed, that the Image of him that in deede was vertuouse, might and by the law of Nations ought to be honoured.

Note.

50. Neither did the Christians, when true Religion was published, pull downe such Images, as were only sette vp for a testimonie of morall vertue, and wisdom (and were not at all honoured for Gods) but they suffered them still to remaine: not verily in the inward parte of their Churches (lest they should be taken for to haue bene faithfull men, whereas they were infidels) but yet in the Market place, or in the streates.

51. In so much that among diuerse other Images, which yet stand in Rome, the Image of *Marcus Aurelius the Philosopher* standeth to this day in brasse, vpon a horle of brasse in the Capitol, and the Image of *Constantinus* the

the Great, standeth vpon the steps of the Church called *Ara cæli*.

52. This reason (of naturall honour) persuaded the woman, who was deliuered by Christ from the bloodie issue, to erect an Image vnto him in *Paneade* of Phenicia, which is adioyning to the Lande of Iewrie. The which Image neither any Christian (though all the Apostles continued a good time therabout, and must needs heare of it, and might haue commaunded the woman that made it, to haue pulled it downe, because she was Faithfull, as the Gospell doth witnesse) nor any Painim did pull downe, vntill he came who from a Christian became a Painim: euidently foretelling vs, that he must be an Heretike in part of the faith, or a Renegate from the whole faith, who pulleth downe the Image of Christ, or of any other man worthy of remembrance.

53. Thus I haue shewed, that externall Images (being once made) haue honour due to them, as well according to the Law of nature, as also accordinge to the practise of Nations. Which practise in that behalfe as it is vniforme; as well by their Lawes as by their deedes, is an euident argument, that there is a naturall truth therin, albeit by some circumstance, wherein all Nations agreed not, some abuse might be mingled

Euseb. lib.
7. ca. 18.

Note.

Math. 23

gled there withall.

The fifth
cause of
honoring
Images.

Note.

54. Farthermore, seing all the world made Images for the honour of them, who had bene men of vertue, what honour would come to them thereby, if the Image had not a necessarie relation to those men, whose Image it is? If the relation be necessarie, seing the Image is made for the mans honour, *the relation of honour is also necessarie betweene the Image, and him whose Image it is.* How could els honour come to a man by that thing, which it selfe were not able to be honored? When we will honour a man by making an Oration in his praise, is not he the more honoured, by how much the Oratour is more noble, and his Oration the more eloquent?

Note.

55. If you make the Image of S. Paul with a wrie mouth, and with great goggling eyes, and laie the same vpon a donghil, writing vpon it, *this is the Image of S. Paul,* surelie no wise man will thinke anie honour to be done to S. Paul thereby, but rather great dishonour: and yet he is remembered. But he is not honorably remembered.

56. If then to haue the principal partie honoured by his Image, the Image must be honorably handled (as for example, it must be honestly made, and be sette vp in an open and decent place): It is the Law of nature and of right reason, that, if the Image of an
Hono-

Honorable Personage may be made (as doubtlesse it may) then it may be also honoured, that is to say, honourably regarded, and esteemed. The which estimatiō ought to be more or lesse, according to the true vertue of the man. If it be the Image of Cato, I maie well thincke his worldly wisedome worthie of an Image. But I will not thincke him a Saint, and consequently I will not thincke his Image to be a holic Image, or the Image of a Saint.

There are
differēces
of honor.

57. Neither yet would I pull it doune, except I perceaued it to be abused, and to be taken for a Saints Image.

58. But if I knowe it to be the Image of Christe, or of his Mother, I will vse it accordingly.

59. For seing true honour commeth from the minde: as my faith is, so shall my honor be, to all holy Images I may either bow my body, or put of my cap, or kneele before them, and praie to God, or desire the Saints to praie for me. For all this honour is of necessitie geuen to the thing it selfe, whose Image it is.

60. Besides all these reasons, there is yet an other of great force, and that is this. The name of an honourable Personage is honourable, because it belongeth to his person: in so much that the Prophet euery where crieth

The sixth
case of ho-
nouring
Images:

Pfal. 112. out, *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* Let the name of the Lord be blessed. And it is written of the blessed Saints of God, *Their name shall live from generation to generation.* And the very Heathens in mentioning a man of honour, vsed to say, *Quem honoris causa nomino,* whom I name to honour him thereby.

Ecclef. 44. *shall live from generation to generation.* And the very Heathens in mentioning a man of honour, vsed to say, *Quem honoris causa nomino,* whom I name to honour him thereby.

61. Seing then the Image of Christ beareth Christes name, and in common speech is called Christ, it must needes ensue, that the Image of Christ as it partaketh his name, so it partaketh the same honour also, which is due to the name of Christ. This argument is so strong, and the reason thereof so well grounded in nature and truth, that the Image-breakers, although they brake Christs Image wheresoever they found it, yet being demanded whether they had broken Christs Image or no, were naturally ashamed to say, they had broken Christes Image, but turned the thing into other termes, saying, we haue broken Idols.

Note.

62. And when it was againe asked, whether Christes Image were an Idol, being yet pricked a fresh with natural inclination to auoid the enuy and shame, either of breaking any thing which bare that blessed name of Christ, or of calling it an Idol: they were constrained to answer, not directly to the question, but generally, that al Images which
are

are worshiped, are Idols.

63. O the testimony of our cōscience how great it is? The tong dareth not speake, that which the hand feared not to do. And why so? Because our wordes haue a greater affinity with our hart, then our handes haue. Many dare kill a man, who dare not say, they haue killed a man. Moreouer there are found men so desperat, that they dare confesse them selues to haue killed their ennemie: but yet few or none dare to say, I haue killed a man.

Why men
doe that
which
they dare
not speak.

64. As therefore we are certified by that natural feare, which men haue, to say they killed a man, *that it is against nature to kill a man*: so in that men are ashamed to say, they haue destroyed the Image of Christ or of the Saint, *it appeereth well to be a thing against nature, to destroy the Images of the Saints.*

In verbo
Constanti.

65. Suidas writeth, that Constantinus Copronymus commanded, that none of all the frinds or Ministers of God should be called *Sanctus, a Saint*, or holy, but only that we should say, *Mary, Peter, Paul*, and not S. Mary the Mother of God, nor S. Peter, or S. Paule: as thinking thereby to saue himselfe from the infamy of destroying the Images of the Saintes, if he might prouide, that there should be none called Saints at all. To the same matter it belongeth that Theodorus Studiensis writeth. *Imaginem hominis ho-*

It is ioy-
ned to the
Apologie
of Damascene for
Images.

minem vocant, bouis bouem: Imaginem vero Christi. Deipara, aut cuiuscunque tandem Sanctorum, nullo pacto sustinent nominare iuxta prototypum, aut iuxta id vnde deriuatur: Sed Imagines simpliciter, nec aliud esse fatentur, quam Imagines. Huius autem ne sint, an illius, non addunt, vt ne comperito errore à communione abarceantur. Tanta isti redundant absurditate & blasphemia.

66. They call the Image of a man, a man: and the Image of an oxe, an oxe. But they can not abide by any meanes, that the Image of Christ, or of his Mother, or of any one of all the Saints, should be called according to the first sampler, or els according to that, from whence it was deriued: but they call them Images simply, neither do they confesse them to be any other thing then Images, not adding whether it be this (Saints) Image, or that, least, their error being found, they may be expelled from the Communiõ. Into such absurditie and Blasphemie these men be fallen.

67. If then in all ages they themselues who brake the Images of the Saints, were ashamed to call them the Images of the Saintes, our intent is proued thereby, that it is against naturall honestie, to breake his Image, who is him selfe an honourable Personage, as Christ is, and his blessed Mother,
and

and Apostles. For when that is done which the tongue is ashamed to name, the silence of the tongue proueth the filthines of the fact.

Articu. 142

68. By this also M. Iewels Proposition may be vnderstoode, wherein he affirmeth: *that Images were not sette vp in the Churches within the first six hundred yeares, so the intent the people might worship them.*

69. What meane you by Images, Maister Iewel? There are Images of Deuils, Images of Heathens, and Images of Heretiques. For Germanie is full of the Images of Luther, and of Melanchthon. But the Catholiques did neuer set vp such Images to be honoured. You should haue expressed vnto vs the Images of Christ, and of his Saintes. But you were ashamed to call these men Saints, whose Images you allow not.

70. If you, M. Iewel, be not ashamed of your owne doctrine, if you dare say that, which your brethren euery where do? Marke what your doctrine must needs be, seing it must be contrary to ours, which is as followeth.

71. Christs Image is sette vp in the Church, with this faith and beliefe of the Catholiques, *that Christ him selfe is worthy to haue the honour of an Image.* The which hath alwaies bene one kinde of honouring Noble men.

The doctrine of the catholiks,

13

72. Item,

72. Item, Christes Image is sette vp in the Church to this end, that we remembring what he did and suffered for vs, should loue him and follow him. The which end being good, maketh the Act of the setting vp the Image to be good.

73. Item, we adore Christ so perfittlie, that we suffer not so much as his Image to be vn-honoured.

74. Item, we beleeue it to be a contumelie done to Christ, if his Image be broken.

75. It would greue any Prince (I am sure) to heare, that his Image should be broken, And thinke you, that such contumelie may be freely done to Christ, as no Prince would take at your handes? Breake (M. Iewel) if you dare the Image of the Queenes Maiestie, or the Armes of the realme. Pull doune any banner or helmet, or other Ensigne, or token belonging to the honorable Knights of the Garter, or to the Knights of any worshipfull order. If they take it well, then Christ may perhaps be content to see his owne Image destroyed.

the seuēth
cause of
honoring
Images
by the cō-
trarie.

76. But if all noble men would accompt them selues diffamed, and vtterly dishonoured, if their Images or Armes of Honour, should be contemptuously throwen doune: what villanie, what impietie, what blasphemie is it, to thinke Christ to be of lesse Nobilitie

litie, then these are, some of whom may be damned for euer to hel fire?

77. If any faith or loue of Christ be left in nobilitie, I would wish they tooke it at the least so greuously to see Christes Crosse, with his armes of honor, or his Image broken and throwen doune, as it griueth them to see their own Armes or Images condemned. Thus Catholiques say.

Consider
it most ho-
nourable
Lords.

78. But M. Iewel being of a contrary opinion to vs, must needes defend the contrary propositions: to witte. *Christ is not worthy of that honour, which is geuen to noble men by setting vp of their Images.* How say you M. Iewel, is that your proposition or no? If it be, professe it, and then I say, that by your doctrine, Christ (concerning his manhod) is not worthy of all such honor, as one man may geue to an other. For this is one kinde of honour, which all Nations haue vsually geuen vnto excellent men, to set vp their Images or armes.

M. Iewels
doctrine,
in effect.

1.

79. Item, you must say M. Iewel, *Theire faith who thinke Christ as worthy of the honor of an Image, as Iulius Caesar or Socrates was, is no good faith. Ergo by your doctrine, Christ is lesse Honourable, then Iulius Caesar.*

2.

80. Item you must say: *It is not well done to set vp Christes Image, to the end we may remember what he did or suffered for vs, and to honor the cause of that remembrance: otherwise*
you

3.

you can not goe against our doctrine, as you now do.

4. 81. Item you must say, *Christ is not worthy of so much honour, that for his sake his Image should also be honoured of vs.*

7. 82. Item you must say. *It is well done to breake Christes Image.*

83. Item, *it is no contumelie to a Prince, to haue his Image broken.*

84. But if these propositions be false, and as soone as they are spoken, appeere absurd and against all reason; consequently the whole doctrine, which oppugneth the honoring of Christes Image, is false, absurd, and against all reason. For it doth that thing, which the tong dareth not simplie and plainly professe.

85. On the other side, when we honour Images, we doe no more then we dare say. For as in my deede I bow to Christes Image, or put off my cap to any Saints Image, so without suspition of any Idolatrie, I may say, in words, *This Image representeth a Saint, who reigneth with God in heauen, who is a liuely member of Christ, who in Christ as in a glasse seeth me, when so euer I desire helpe by his prayer, and knoweth my hart (by Christes reuealing) and therefore I honour him in my hart, and honour his remembraunce in my mouth, and honour his Image in my deede.* All is one to say this much,

What the
catholikes
may say.

or by my deede to signifie the same.

86. So that the Images of Christ, and of his Saintes, may and must be honoured, according to the law of Nature, the which is declared seuen waies.

87. First, because they be an occasion to vs of a good remembrance.

88. Secondly, because they speedily and most conueniently informe our inward imagination, wherein our vnderstanding apprehendeth the truth.

89. Thirdly, because they are naturallie knit and adioyned to the truth (concerning their shape and representation.)

90. Fourthly, because all Nations haue honoured them in respect of their vertue, whose Images they are.

91. Fifthly, because the relation of honour is so necessarily betweene the Image, & the thing meant to be honoured by the Image, that if the Image be not honoured, the thing can not be honoured thereby.

92. Sixthly, because as the name of Christ is communicated to his Image, so the honour due to his name, is in the same degree, to be communicated vnto his Image also.

93. Last of all, if it be a contumelie to the Prince to haue his Image broken, and an honour to haue it regarded: the like must needes some to passe in Christ, whose honour is so great

great by nature, that nothing at all, which be-
longeth to him, ought to be without Ho-
nour and Estimation.

*It is proued out of the Worde of God, that the
Images of honourable things ought to
be honoured.*

THE XII. CHAPTER.

1. **P**ope Adrian writing to the Empe-
rour Constantinus and Irene his mo-
ther, concerning the Seuenth General Coun-
cel gathered together at Nice, alleadgeth for
making and honouring of Images (among
many other texts of holy Scripture) that
place of Genesis, where it is written, *that*
God made man according to his owne Image and
Similitude: and shewing wherin the Image
and similitude consisted, the Pope addeth
that God illumined and established man in free
power of him selfe. And that he being of free
Will, called through the pleasure of God, all the
beastes of the earth and the foules of the aier, by
proper names.

Gen. 1.

Conc. Ni.

Act. 2.

fol. 480.

Gen. 2.

Artic. 14.

fol. 503.

2. M. Jewel in his Replie vnderstandeth
not, how these places apperteine to the pur-
pose of making or of honouring Images, but
rather he mocketh at all those Fathers lear-
ning, and dildaineth to be accompted lighter
then

then they were . Which contempt of those reuerend Fathers, moued me at this time to speak of certaine places alleaged out of Gods worde in that Councell, and to shew, that they are learnedly applied : trusting that by these few, the Reader will iudge the like, of all the rest.

3. First of all it is to be noted, that Damascene also bringeth many of the verie same places for the same purpose. I pray you, M. Jewel, is Damascene of so light credite with you, that he also can not tell how to vse the holie Scriptures?

4. Surely how preaty a man so euer you thinke your selfe to be, your bookes will lie rotting in corners, if they scape the fire, when his woorkes will be in such estimation, euen to the ende of the worlde, as they haue bene aboute these seuen hundred yeares past.

5. He saith: *Deus hominem ad suam Imaginem fecit. Cuius igitur gratia inuicem adoramus, nisi quatenus ad Imaginem Dei facti sumus? Nam, ut inquit deiser & magnus in diuinis Basilus, Imaginis honor ad exemplaris transfertur honorem.* God made man to his Image. For what cause then doe we adore one an other, but in that respect, as we are made to the Image of God? For as godly Basil, who is great in diuine matters, saith, the honour of the Image is transferred or conueyed ouer to
the

De Ortho
fide ca. 17.

the honour of that thing whence the Image was taken.

6. Cyrillus reasoneth after the same sort. *Cyrril. in Imago lignea terrani Regis honoratur, quani- Catech. 12 magis rationalis Imago Dei?* The wodden Image of an earthly Kinge is honoured, how much more is the reasonable Image of God worthy of honor?

7. It appeereth then that man being the Image of God, is for that very cause worthy of honour. Which thing if it be once graunted (as it is most true) the argument of Pope Adrian deriued from the honor due to men in that they are the Images of God, to the honouring also of such Images, as doe represent holy men, is a most perfit argument. And may be shewed at large after this sort.

Tim. 1.

8. God is absolutely worthy of all honour, which thing needeth no prooffe.

Genes. 1.

9. Man is made according to the Image of God, and that also is plaine.

Theod. in Gen. 9. 20.

10. Whether this Image consist in grace and in all Vertue, or in reason, free will, and in the Authority or Gouvernement, or in whatsoever thing beside, once the Image of God is the highest gifte that man hath in him.

11. Therefore if any man be worthy of honour in any respect (as many men are for diuerse causes) doubtlesse that honor is due to man specially for that he is made according

to Gods Image.

12. If man may and must be honoured, because he is made according to the Image of God; the Cause of his Honour dependeth of the Image of God which is in him. For God him selfe is so honourable, that a thing made according to his Image, can not be but worthy of some honour.

13. This being true, then doth it necessarily follow, that *the Image of an honorable thing is worthy of Honour, for his sake whose Image it is.* For this particular proposition, *Man being made to the Image of God (who is most worthy of honour) is him selfe to be honoured in that respect,* as he is made according to Gods Image: this particular proposition, I say, dependeth of this vniuersall proposition, and of this generall reason: *Euery Image of an honorable thing is worthy of some honour, for his sake whose Image it is.* For if that be not so, it will follow, that man beinge made to the Image of God, must not be in such respect honoured, to the end honour may come thereby to God.

14. But if this last particular saying be true, it is true, for that the other vniuersall saying is true. As likewise it is true, that, *Plato being a man, is reasonable, because, euery thing that is a man, is reasonable.*

15. If then the vniuersall proposition be

N

true,

true, that euerie Image of an honourable thing, is worthe of honour, for his sake whose Image it is, then will an other particular proposition be inferred also thereupon: to wit, that the Image of our Ladie, or of S. Paule, and much more of Christ, is the Image of an honourable thing: therefore the Images of our Ladie, and of S. Paule, and of Christ are worthy of some honour, for our Lady, S. Paule, and Chrilles owne sake.

16. Mocke now, M. Iewel, if you haue either witte, or sense, or shame. Or if you haue done mocking, then either fume and freat in vaine, or humbly gene ouer your blasphemies, and confesse Pope Adrian to haue had an other maner of discourse, then your vnderstanding blinded with affection, could attaine vnto.

17. Yet to shewe farther the weight of this reason, it is to be considered, that as God only is honourable by nature (accordingly as S. Paule saith, *to God alone be honour and glorie*) and yet as man being made of God according to his Image, is therby partaker of Gods honour (*for God will render honour to them that seeke him*) but yet in a degree so much inferiour to God, as the creature is behinde the creatour (for as Theodoretus saith) man hath the name of Gods Image, but not the thing, that is to say, not the selfe same

1. Timo. 1.

Rom. 2.

In Gen.

Quaest. 20.

sub-

substance of God) so, whereas our Lady or S. Paule are honourable in their owne personages by Gods gift, yet their Images (being made by the artificer according to their similitude) ought also to be partakers of their honour, but in a degree so much inferiour to our Ladie and to S. Paul, by how much a reasonable and liuing creature, doth excell a representation or similitude, which hath the name only and not also the thing, that is to say, which hath not mans reason or life in it.

18. Marke the proportion euerie way. On the one side, God is the principall, and man is made to his Image. On the other side, man is the principall, and a stone or a peece of wood is made to his Image. God maketh man according to his Image of nothing. And that is the power and glory of the Maker, but not of him that is made. The Image of man is made of somewhat, because the Artificer who maketh it, is not able to make it of nothing, and that is the weakenesse of the workeman, but not any defect of the Image.

19. Man is not Gods Image by nature, but by creation, neither is the stone or the painted colours mans Image by nature, but by arte. God passeth man infinitely. Man passeth his owne Image much in deede, but not infinitely.

20. Wel then, seeing some honour is due to man, because he hath some steppes or similitude of God in him: surely some honor also may be due to the painted or grauen figure of a man, because it hath some step or similitude of the man in it. For it beareth mans shape, and also his name.

21. Amongal men, none are so truly honorable, as thole who continued to the end of their life accordinge to that Image of God, wherunto they were first made. Such are all the Saintes. Moreouer their Images are made in the faith of Gods Church, to the end other men may be stirred by the sight of them, to like vertue and godlines.

22. Therefore there can be no doubt, but that by the force of Gods worde, we are bound to honor the Images of the Saintes, because they are made according to the shape of them, in that behalfe as they were most like vnto God.

23. What say we, if there be a greater distance betweene God and euen his holy creatures, then betweene our Lady and her Image? Doth not then the honour more quickly and more certainly, and with lesse daunger of Idolatrie, passe ouer from our Ladies Image, to herselfe, then from our Ladie herselfe, to God? And for that good reason may be alledged, For there is no comparison between
God

Note.

God and any creature, be the creature made neuer so honorable. But betweene a creature, and the worke of the Artificer, there is some comparison.

24. God is an euerlasting essence and nature. But the creature is made of nothing, and should againe fall into nothing, if God did not susteine it, and vphold it. What proportion then can be, betweene all thing, yea, betweene that, which is for euer by nature about all thinges, and that which is by gift made of nothing, and still by gift kept from nothing? There is doubtlesse no comparison to speake of, betweene God and our Ladie, or S. Paule. Ioan. 1.

25. But betweene our Lady and her Image, there is at the least some proportion. For they are both made, both consist of materiall Elementes, both subiect by nature to corruption, and both kept from nothinge through the goodnes of God.

26. If now S. Paule and our Ladie, may and must be honoured for Gods sake, who is so farre distant from them by nature, and to whose Image they approche so slenderly and scantely: how much more may the Image of our Lady be honored for our Ladies sake, the which her Image approcheth nearer to her in nature, then she doth approche to God?

27. Moreover, the Image and similitude of God in vs (consisting rather in vertue and grace infused into our soules from God, then in our natural substance or manhood) may be dimmed and darkned: in so much that many men haue not bene knowen to be the Images of God, but haue bene principally worshipped as Gods them selues, as it is knowen of Iupiter, Mars, and Venus. But our Ladies artificial Image being only knowen or called by the name of her shape and Image, can neuer be principally worshipped as our Ladie herselfe. For then it is not any more the only shape or Image of our Lady. So that it is a contradiction to say, it is only our Ladies Image, and yet it is our Ladie herselfe.

28. The like would haue chanced to men, if their names had bene to be called Gods created Images. For then they could neuer haue bene principally worshipped, vnder that name, as Gods, but only as the Images of God. But for so much as they were not alwaies called nor taken for Gods created Images, they were abused as Gods them selues. And in deede the more they had in themselves of reason, of vertue, or of power, the soner they were to much honored by ignorant men. Likewise the farther of, all artificial Images are from life and reason (they haue

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have in deede none at all) the farther they softome
are from the daunger to be worshipped as maketh.
Gods.

Hom. 2 ad
Colloſſen.

29. Let this suffice for the first reason, whereat M. Jewels wisdome mocked. And when he hath answered it as I make it (and not as he according to his wrangling custome will turne it, and make my argument anew) then time will trie, who hath the truth.

30. It were infinite thus to amplifie euery reason, which is alleaged in the seuenth most learned Councell. But I will touch only a few of them, leauing it to the Readers iudgement, to weigh by this one example, the grauity and breuitie of those holy Fathers (who comprised long discourses in very few wordes) and the light braines of these new broched brethren, who reprove they can not tell what.

31. The same Pope Adrian doth also alleage an other Testimonie out of holy Scripture, which now followeth.

In ep. ad
Constant.
act. 2.
Gen. 28.

32. Iacob hauing seene the vision of the ladder, whose toppe touched heauen, and the Angels of God going vp and doune vpon it, and hearing God say to him. *All the tribes of the earth shall bee blessed in thee, and in thy seede*, rose vppe in the morning, and tooke the stone which he had laied vnder his head, and he raised, or, *did sette it vppe for a Monu-*

Erexit in
titulum

set in sta-
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ment (or standing Image) pouring oile vpon
it. And he named the place (which was be-
fore called Luz) Bethel. That is to say, The
house of God.

33. And he vowed to offer there, the ten-
thes of all things at his returne. This stone
(said he) which I haue raised vp for a Monu-
ment, shall be called the house of God.

34. This stone thus set vp, was made
thereby a manifest Signe, Monument, Ima-
ge, and representation to Iacob, of Gods
promise, and of his vision. The same stone
erected or set vp for a Monument, in a place
named the house of God, doth declare, that I-
mages may be set vp for a good remembran-
ce in Christian Churches, which also are the
houses of God. The pouring of oile vpon
the stone, and the vowing to offer the ten-
thes of his goodes there, doth shew that
stone to be singularly segregated and separa-
ted from other common and prophane sto-
nes, albeit not for the stones owne sake, but
for the honour of the Diuine promise there
heard, and of the heauenly vision there seene,
whereof the stone is made an Image.

35. Now when a stone which was before
common, is sette aboue all common stones,
and preferred not onely before things of the
same kinde, but also before grasse, trees, and
beastes (which are of a higher degree in na-
ture,

Note:

Scriptures

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ture, then ordinarily the stone should be of)
is not that the making of the stone, to be a re-
uerent and an honourable Monument?

36. Now because euery Image is the fi-
gure and signe of some truth, S. Augustine
relleth vs, that this stone thus sette vp, be-
tokeneth, that Gods House^d and Temple should
stand after ward in the same place. And that
pouring of oile vpon it, was a prophecy be-
longing to Christ, who by his incarnation
was anointed the Heade of Mankinde, euen
according to his Manhodde.

Super Go-
nel quest.
83. 84. 85.

37. As therfore it was no Idolatrie, to set
vp and to annoint the stone with such a mind
as ended in the honour of Christ (whereas o-
therwise it had bene Idolatrie if either the
stone it selfe, or a false God, had bene the last
end of the anointing) so when any Image of
Christ or of his Apostles is set vp, and when
conuenient reuerence is done thereunto for
Chrittes sake, it is no Idolatrie, but a godly
and vertuose acte.

38. For S. Augustine well noreth, that,
Iacob did not adore the stone, nor made sacrifice
to the stone, nor called it God, but the house of
God. No more may we adore an Image made
of stone, either with godly honor, or els with
any honor at all for the stones owne sake, nor
we may not make Sacrifice therunto, nor call
it our God, but a thing of God, that is to say,
the

the Image of that Saint, whose shape it beareth, the which Saint is of God. And in that respect, whiles we reuerence it, as it is appointed to serue a godly vse, God is the last ende of our honour.

2. Reg. 24.

Euseb. l. 5.
e. 9. Demō
Euangel.

39. But as the annointing of King Saul made him so Honourable, that King Dauid would not lay his handes vpon the *Anointed of the Lord*: So the annointing of the stone for true Religions sake, sheweth it to haue bene made a reuerent monument, which neither Iacob nor any other good man would afterward haue pulled doune, but rather he would purposely haue gonne to that place to haue honoured God there, like as Eusebius doth witnesse, that euen at his time the place was reuerenced, where the three Angels appeared to Abraham.

Gen. 22.

40. And that God doth preferre one place before an other, it is euident in Abraham, whom he commaunded to go into the land of vision, saying: there thou shalt offer thy sonne, a whole burnt offering vppon one of the hills which I shall shew to thee. And this hill is thought to haue bene the very same place, where Iacob also did sette vp this Monument: so that some one Monument and place may lawfully be honored aboue an other, in respect of God and of his Friendes,

41. The same Iacob also adored, as the Scrip-

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are from the
Gods.

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Scriptures reach, the toppe of Iosephs Rodde or Scepter. That is to say. Hee bowed doune toward it, and shewed him selfe to reuerence it, and in it, to adore the holy Crosse, or scepter and royal power of Christ, whose Image Ioseph bare.

42. Whereupon Sedulius writeth: *Mistice designat regnum Christi in fine seculi adorandum, sicut ipse Virgam filij sui adorauit.*

Sedul in
c. 11. Ho-
bre.

43. He doth betoken Mysticallie, that the Kingdome of Christ, must be honoured in the ende of the world, euen as Iacob did adore the rodde or scepter of his sonne.

44. There is then a case when a creature without sense, may be adored for his sake, which hath reason and vertue. Neither doth it skill, that this place is otherwise reade in the Hebrew, and otherwise expounded by some auncient Fathers. For although the readings differ, yet they are both true: the one being vttered by Moyses, the other by Saint Paul, and by the seuentie Interpreters.

Gen. 47.

45. There is no worse custome in Heretiques, then by one truth to marre an other. Why might not Iacob adore the toppe of Iosephs rodde or scepter, bowing him selfe also toward his beards head? Admitte Iacob had onely leaned vpon the scepter of Ioseph, and so had worshipped Ioseph, and in Ioseph Christ: yet euen that was the doing of ho-
nour

nour to Ioseph by his sceptrer, and to the sceptrer for Iosephs sake, and aboue all to Christ.

Quest. in
Gen. 162.

46. S. Augustine saith, *Non pudebat eum ferre tantisper insigne potestatis filij sui, ybi figura magna rei futura praefigurabatur.* (Iacob) was not ashamed to beare a little while the ensigne of his sonnes power, where the figure of a great thing that should come after, was betokened. Lette not vs then be ashamed in like case to esteeme a thing of a baser condition then we ourselues are of, when it is the figure of a greater thing then we are.

Note.

Exo 3.

47. What shall we say of that vision of Moyse, when he saw the bush a fire, and yet not consumed? Said not God to him at that time, *Moses, Moses, approcheno hither, put thy shooes of thy feete, for the place where thou standest, is holy ground?* Could the ground which was without reason or sense, yet be made holy?

48. If it was in deede holy for his presence who spake out of the bush, and being holie, it might not be troden vpon with Moysees shooes, seeing the absteyning to tread vpon it, is the doing of a certaine honour to it, may not an Image which is apointed to bring vs to the remembrance of holy things, be also holy? and being holy, shall it not, according to this Example, be reuerenced some way or other?

49. What

49. What excessive honour gaue Dauid to the arke of God, when he danced before it, and became like a foole in the sight of fooles, that he might be rewarded as a wise man, in the sight of God? And yet the material Arke, was but a shadow of Christ. 2. Reg. 6.

50. The brazen Serpent being set vp *pro signo*, for a signe, and the children of Israel being commanded to looke vpon it, & being thereby healed, did it not shewe euidently, that an Image may be sette vp to be looked vpon, and that by looking on it God may succour vs, if we vse it only to that purpose, for which it was sette vp? But if we make the signe to be the thing it selfe (as the Iewes did) that is in deede a most miserable seruitude, and such as more easily fell vpon carnall Iewes, who commonly were inclined to make euery thing their God, then it is like to fall vpon those, whom Christ hath delivered from such blindness and thralldom. But howsoeuer a thing be well or euill vsed, it is proued by this example of the serpent, that an Image being vsed (as an Image ought to be vsed) may be reuerenced and conueniently regarded for the truthes sake which it signifieth. Num. 21. 4. Reg. 18.

51. When the children of Ruben, of Gad, and of the halfe Tribe of Manasses, built an Altar in the Land of Chanaan, not to make Iesue. mi
sacri.

sacrifice vpon it, but only for a testimonie betweene them and the other Tribes their brethren, what was that, but only the Image of an Altar? But yet it was an honourable Image, because it bare the name of Gods Altar, and because it was a remembrance to them, *vt seruirent Domino*, to the ende they seing it, might remember to goe to the true Altar of God, there to make their lawfull sacrifice.

Exod. 25.

52. In the law of Moyses God willed *Angels to be made, & to be sette vp in ech side ouer the Arke, their faces lookinge toward the propitiatory, and thence he promised to speake vnto Moyses, and by him to shew his pleasure to the Children of Israel. These grauen Angels were manifest Images of the highest order of Angels (sauiing one) which is in heauen. They were made with faces of beautifull yong men, and were commaunded to be sette vp of God himselfe, in the Holy of Holies, which Saint Hierom witnesseth the Iewes to haue worshipped and thereby proueth to Marcella, that much more the Sepulchre of Christ in Ierusalem ought to be worshipped.*

Note.

Hier. epi.
ad Mar-
cellam.
venerabā-
tur iudaei
sancta sā-
ctōū quia
ibi erant

53. If then the Iewes, beinge as yet not made free in spirit, neuerthelesse worshipped the Holy of Holies, and that (as S. Hierom there saith) *because the Cherubims, and the Pro-*

pitatory,

and the Arke of truse were in them, Cherubim
much more in the time of spirituall liberty,
when grace aboundeth, and the knowledge
of God is so spread by the holy Ghost in our
hearts, that we neede not to feare idolatry (as
the Iewes needed) much more nowe holy
Representations and Images may be sette vp
in our Churches, and may also be worship-
ped of vs.

54. And for as much as (the Veile of the
old Temple being rent in sunder at the time
of Christes Passion) all that was hidden in the
Law, is now sette open to vs, M. Iewels
answere (which he maketh to Doctour Har-
ding) will not serue, to say, that those Ima-
ges were sette vp within the veile, whether
none entred beside the Bishop. For now the
body and lower part of our Churches is that
vnto vs, which the place inclosed within the
Veile or the Chauncel, was vnto the Iewes.

55. We then may in the state of the new
Testament as freely haue Images in our open
Churches, as the Iewes had them in their
Chauncell or secret vestry. And yet if their
whole Temple was an Image of Christes
bodie (as in deede it was) they also had an
Image openly sette vp before their eyes.

56. Yea but we may not honour Images
(saith Master Iewel) as who should say, the
Temple was not exceedingly honoured of
all

Cherubim
&c cxc.

Matt. 27.

Artic. 14.

Ioan. 6.

all the Iewes in the Law. For where soeuer the Iewes were in all the world, they prayed to God turning their faces toward the Tabernacle or Temple. Whereof King Salomo

1. Reg. 1. saith, *if the people going forth to battaile pray toward the house of God, he will heare their prayers in heauen.*

Dan. 6. 57. And therefore the Prophet Daniel being now in Babilon, yet opening his chamber windowes, *he prayed toward Ierusalem* where the Temple of God was wont to stand.

It was a great honour doubtlesse to the materiall Temple, so to be vsed, not in deede for its owne sake, but because it was an Image yea rather a shadow of Christ. For an Image is more then a shadow, as S. Paule saith, *The Law had a shadow of good things to come, and not the selfe Image of the things.*

Heb. 10.

58. If then a material Temple being but a shadow of Christ, that is to say, a darke Image, only shewing that Christ should come in a body, but yet not able to tell what kind of body it should be: if that Temple being so but a shadow of Christ, was yet adored for Christes sake who was not then in flesh: how much more shall an expresse Image of his bodie, the which body is now really vnited to him? how much more shall that Image so neere representing his shape, be adored and worshipped for his sake, of those who will

performe that in the new Testament, which the Law prefigured?

59. Neither ought this honour which is geuen to Images, seeme absurd to any man, if he remember, that the honour geuen to them, doth goe vnto the principall truth which is figured: the which relation and passing of honor from one thing to an other, if he take away, I aske him, by what meanes he geueth godly honour to Christes naturall flesh?

Gods
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uen to
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other
thing.

60. Surely if he will goe no further, but to the only nature of flesh, as flesh, it may not be worshipped with Gods owne honor. But becaule the flesh of Christ must be respected, as a thing vnited to the Godhead in one person: for the respect and truth also of this vnion, we ought to geue the same honour to Christes flesh, which we geue to God, for it is made the flesh of the naturall Sonne of God.

61. Seing then a thing may be honoured aboue the condition of its owne nature, for another cause (although the vnion be a greater cause, why Christes flesh should be honoured, then the relation which is betweene the Image and the first sample) yet herein they agree, that eche of them is honoured for an other true respect, beside that which is in the nature of the stuffe or matter whereof they

they consist.

Note.

62. Christes flesh is not God, but it is vnited to God. Christes Image is not Christ, but it is referred to Christ. The vnion is higher then the relation, therefore the honour due to it is greater: but the relation is one degree of a certaine vnion, therefore some honour is due to the Image, for that it is referred vnto Christ, for euery Image is referred to the thing, whose Image it is.

Marci. 12.

63. Christ being demaunded, whether tribute might be paid to Cæsar or no, called for a penny, and hauing learned that it bare the Image and inscription of Cæsar, said, *render therefore those things vnto Cæsar, which belong to Cæsar*. Did he not here evidently teache, that euery Image belongeth to that truth, whose Image it beareth?

64. If this be Cæsars Image, geue it then (saith he) vnto Cæsar. As who should say: the very shape, the very inscription, the verie forme, and print thereof, leades you to consider, that this coyne may lawfullie be geuen to Cæsar; Euen so doth euery Image lead vs to that truth, whereof it is the Image.

65. If then the Image belong to the truth, the honour of the Image belongeth to the honour of the truth: and consequently, when the truth is worthy of honour, the Image thereof is (for the truthe sake) worthy of some

some honour.

66. I omitte in this place to prosecute at large such holy Scriptures, as doe proue the Signe of the Crosse to be most honorable. (And yet the said Signe being the similitude of Christ redeeming vs vpon the Crosse, is a very true and perfit Image.) For Amalech was ouerthrowen by the signe or holy representation which Moyles made, when he prayed to God with his handes lifted vp and spreade abroad.

Exo. 17

67. And because Moyles did not spread and hold vp his hands by chaunce, but Prophetically, that is to say, betokening and imitatinge that forme and shape, wherein Christ would redeeme the world: for that cause, the lifting vp of his hands, was an Image. And who may dout, but it was an honourable Image, which God did honour and commend vnto vs by a miracle wrought therein.

68. For when Moyles held vp his hands, Israel overcame, but if he did neuer so little slacke them, Amalech overcame. What meant this, but to shew, that the Signe or Image of lifting vp Moyles handes, was so holy, so reuerend, so honorable (for Christes sake, who should spread his handes vpon the Crosse) that by it the people of Israel overcame? We may therefore and must honour

the Signe of the Crosse, in whatsoeuer stuffe or matter it be made. And by the same reason, we may honour euery Image, which expresseth and followeth the shape and forme of a holy thing.

69. By this Signe of *Thau*, that is to say, of the Crosse, those were marked in the forehead (as Ezechiel witnesseth) who hated Idolatry. And shall we now thinke, that the honouring of the same Signe is the committing of Idolatry? Those that had *Thau* (the Signe of the Crosse) were not slaine corporally: and thinke we now, that those who haue it and embrace it, shalbe slaine euerlastingly?

70. Make a new Bible, if you can (M. Iewel) for certainly the old Bible will haue the Signe of the Crosse worshipped. Yea the new also: because the same Signe is called, *The signe of the Sonne of man, which shall appeere in heauen, at the day of iudgement.* Neither doth it skill, whether the Crosse it selfe whereupon Christ died, or the Signe thereof made in the aier, shall appeere, or els whether Christ stretchinge out his armes, will make that Signe vnto vs.

71. Euery way that Signe shall appeere, to the confusion & vtter damnation of those, who now haue throwen downe that Signe, wheresoeuer they could come by it; vnlesse they

they repent, whiles yet the vertue of that Signe may be applied vnto them.

72. A thousand times, what say I, a thousand? Euerlastingly accursed is he, that hateth or destroyeth any one iote belonging to Christ, be it neuer so far distant from his holie flesh and Person. A far bigger booke then this presēt is, would not serue to shew, what honour is due to the Signe of our Redemption.

73. When Saint Peter walked in the streetes, the people coueted to lie only within the cumpasse of his shadow? And why so? Because they saw God worke miracles by his handes. Now they discoursed thus with them selues. If this man be so well beloued of God, surely any thing that belongeth to him, is deere and acceptable vnto God. Therefore if we may but attein to haue his shadow come ouer our bodies, we are safe. The like said the faithfull woman, who was cured of her bloody issue. *If I only may touche his garment, I shalbe safe.*

Act. 5.

Math. 9.

74. Verily the Image of Christ is somewhat of his, otherwise it were not his Image. Therefore if a man had that faith, as to beleue that if he might touch or only see his Image, he should be safe, I see no reason, why that faith might not make him safe. Sithens as the touching of the garment staied not

there, but the faith of the woman went vnto Christes owne person: so the seing or touching of the Image, is not the end of our assistance, but only Christ him selfe, whose Image it is. But our faith in Christ appeereth so great when we looke to be holpen by his Image, that we iudge him so almighty, so infinite, so present euery where by grace, that the least thing in the world belonging to him, yea though it were much lesse then his Image, is able to doe vs good. Whereas the Heretickes tie all thinges to his Person, and nothing to his other instruments.

75. Much more might be said in this behalfe (as in the seuenth Councell is to be seene) but I will contente my selfe herewith, telling M. Iewel, that he is ouerimpudent, to scoffe at the holy Scriptures, alleadged by the most graue Senate of three hundred and fiftie Bishops, not only to be considered as learned, wise, and good men, but also as gathered together, *In the name of Christ, who promised to be in the midst of them.* And no meane Christian douteth, but that he performeth his promise.

Mark. 16.

Lea. 4.

76. How God is the better worshipped in spirit and truth, for such conuenient honour as is geuen to Images, in respect of the truth which they represent, it shalbe declared, when I will intreat of the profite which

we take by Images.

77. To make an end at the length. Al that

reuer *a* Isaie, *b* Ieremie, *c* Ezechiel, *d* Micheas, *e* cap. 2.
f Sophonias, *g* Zacharias, or King Dauid say *b* cap. 10.
of the destruction of Idols in the time of gra- *c* cap. 30.
ce, is vtterly voide and of none effect, if it *d* cap. 1.
be not lawful to worship or to adore Images. *e* cap. 2.
f cap. 134

78. For all the whole Church of Christ,
that great Church I say, which is spread
throughout all Nations, hath in all Temples
and Chappels, where Christes name was
called vpon, alwaies, and specially after the
time of Constantinus the great (who resto-
red the Christians to that libertie of wor-
shipping God, whereof the Prophetes had
spoken) sette vp an vsed reuerently the Ima-
ges of Christ and of his Saintes.

79. If now to honour Images after that
sort, be to committe Idolatrie (as our new
Gospellers charge vs) Idols haue not bene
taken away by Christ, and the Prophetes of
God are made lyers. But much safer it is to
thincke, that to esteeme holy Images for that
honorable truthes sake which they shew, is
rather a helpe to the true worshipping of one
God, then any Idolatry at all.

Plal. 9.

Psal. 2.

21. 33.

Isai. 60.

61. 62.

Notes

That the Signe of the healthfull Crosse was honoured in the first six hundred yeeres, and those two grosse ignorances in master Iewel thinking the Signe of the Crosse, not to be an Image, or that to haue the Signe of the Crosse, in great regard for Christes sake, is not to worship the same Signe, and consequently to worship an Image.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

1. **W**hen we speake of worshippinge the Crosse, we may either meane the materiall Crosse, wherupon Christ suffered, or els the Signe and Image thereof. The materiall wood of Christes Crosse is not only holie for the Signes sake (whereby it sheweth him who died vpon it) but also for that it was sanctified with Christes blood, and was the Altar whereupon the sacrifice of our reconciliation was offered, and the instrument of our redemption, whereby it is a holy relique also, and not only an Image.

2. When that wood was found by Helena in Ierusalem, a person dead, or diseased even to death (or both) was thereby restored to health as 1. Ruffinus, 2. Sulpitius, 3. Socrates, Theodoretus and Sozomenus doe witness. And the particles or peeces thereof were sent

sent in the first six hundred yeeres from one faithfull man to an other, for the greatest treasure that might be.

3. This Crosse found by Helena, is called of S. Ambrose, *the standerd of saluation, the wood of truth: yealise it selfe*. But because this honour may be certainly knowen to be geuen to this Crosse, not as it is a peece of wood, but as it is a relique or an Image, and a representation of Christes death vnto vs, S. Ambrose in the same place saith by Helena, *Regem adorauit, non lignum vti que, quia hic gentilis est error, & vanitas impiorum, sed adorauit illum qui pependit in ligno*. Helena did worshipspe the King (to wit, Christ) and not the wood, for this is the Gentils error, and a vanitie of the wicked, but she worshipped him, which did hang on the wood. And againe, whereas an heretick might reply, that no honour at all was due to the wood, no not in that respect as it belongeth to Christ, S. Ambrose answereth thereunto. *Non insolentia ista, sed pietas est, cum deservitur sacra redemptioni*. This is no insolency but godlines, when honour is geuen to the holy redēption. So that the honour done to Christes Crosse goeth to Christ himselfe who redeemed vs.

4. Againe, S. Ambrose maketh the perfidious Iewes with greefe to say: *Ecce & clauus in honore est*, behold the naile also is honored,

2. Sacre
histor li. 2.
tripart. li.
2 cap. 18.
Paulinus
Epist. 11.
Gregor. li.
7. Ep. 129.

De obitu
Theodosij

Et quem ad mortem impressimus, remedium salutis est, atque inuisibili quadam potestate daemones sorquet. And the naile which we draue in, to kill him, is a remedy to auoid death, and it tormenteth the Deuils by a certaine secret power. *Ferro pedum eius Reges inclinantur.* Kings are bowed to the yron of his feete.

5. Thus haue we a plaine doctrine, that the wood, and naile, and yron are to be honoured, & to be worshipped or bowed vnto, not in that they are materiall wood, and a materiall naile (for then they should be worshipped for their owne lakes, and not as Images) but in that they haue a relation to Christes hands, feete, death, and passion: that is to say, in that they are reliques of Christ, or Images and representations of an honourable truth vnto vs. Therefore we haue learned by Saint Ambrose, that the Images of honourable thinges, ought to be honoured, as they are Images, and not otherwise.

Eccles. hi-
stor. li. 10.
cap. 3 li. 6.
cont. Iul.

In the
third chap

6. The wood of the same Crosse is also called by Ruffinus, *blessed*, by S. Cyrillus, *pretiousse and healthfull*, not yet as it is wood, but as himselfe saith, *because it leadeth vs to the memory of Christes death*, whole wordes I alleaged before. Verily for wood to be honoured for an other honorable things sake, to whome the honour of the wood is referred, that is no more to say, but to be honou-

red

edin that it is an Image.

7. And in this respect the Auncient Bishop Paulinus doth witnesse, that the same Crosse of Christ had a Church & a secret place made at Ierusalem, where it might be honorably reserued. *Quam Crucem Episcopus vrbis eius quot annis, cum pascha Domini agitur, adorandum populo princeps ipse venerantium promit.* The which Crosse (of our Sauour) the Bishop of that City (of Ierusalem) bringeth forth euery yeere at the Easter of our Lord, to be adored by the people, him selfe being the first who doth worship it.

8. Much more is said there, and likewise in many other Fathers, concerning the said Crosse of Christ. But what neede particular witnesses, for so much as the whole Church of Christ hath kept these twelue hundred yeeres together, the Inuention, and these nine hundred yeeres, the Exaltation of the same Crosse? So that to dout of the honouring of the Crosse, whereon Christ died, it is to dout, whether it be day, when the sonne shineth brightly. Concerning that signe and Image of that same Crosse, the testimonies of the Primitiue Church are so famous and so well knowen, that M. Iewel douteth not to say:

Ie. The signe of the Crosse, I graunt, among the Christians was had in great regard, &c.

In his

reply

Fol. 500.

9. Sander.

9. *Sander*. Yeathereof he sheweth both reason, and examples at large. What is it then, wherein he disagreeeth from vs?

Jewel. It is not the Crosse, nor the signe of the Crosse, that we finde fault withall, but the superstitious abuse of the Crosse.

1. De corona militis.

2. De spir. S. c. 27.

3. d. l. l. baianum.

4. Serm. 19 de sanctis.

5. Sozomenus lib. 3.

c. 8.

6. Lib. 2. De persecut. Vand.

7. In vita Hilariion.

8. de incar. nat. verb.

9. Lactan. li. 4. c. 27.

10. De visitat. infr.

c. 3. Conc.

6. in Trul. Damalce.

li. 4. c. 17.

10. *Sander*. Why is it not shewed, what the same superstitious abuse is? For if it be a thing vsed in the whole Primitiue Church, it must not be called a superstitious abuse. For M. *Jewel* hath submitted himselfe to the first six hundred yeeres, We signe our foreheades with the Crosse (as 1. Tertullian witnesseth, that the Christians did in his dayes) and those that are baptized (as 2. S. Basil) or bishopped (as 3. S. Cyprian) and we consecrate all our Sacraments, Churches, Altars, with the same Signe of the Crosse (as 4. S. Augustine) and diuers auncient Fathers haue taught vs. We beare it before vs in our processions (as 5. S. Chrysostome) and vse it at the halowing of the fount, as Victor witnesseth that 6. Eugenius did: We confesse Miracles to be wrought by it, as 7. S. Hierome sheweth, and venim, and witchcraft to be made void therewith (as 8. S. Athanasius) and the Devils to be put to flight thereby (as 9. Lactantius) haue taught vs. We 10. reuerence and worship it, as they both did, and taught vs to doe,

11. That surely, that which hath power to doe those things which I haue reherſed, muſt needes be a worſhipfull ſigne, ſith it hath ſome of his vertue in it, *Who is God above all things bleſſed for euer*, the latcher of whose ſhooe we ought to reuerence. So that we neede not wonder, if S. Chryſoſtome ſaid, not only the Croſſe it ſelfe whereon Chriſt died, but alſo *eius figuram & effigiem colendam adorandamque eſſe*, euen the figure and ſhape of the Croſſe ought to be worſhiped & adored.

Rom. 9.

Orat. 1 de ador. crucis.

12. For the honour of this gloriouſe ſigne of Chriſtes death, the Emperours Theodoſius and Valentinianus made a Law in theſe wordes: *Cum ſit nobis cura diligens per omnia ſuperni nominis religionem tueri: ſignum ſaluatoris Chriſti nemini licere vel in ſolo, vel in ſilice vel in marmoribus humi poſitis inſculpere, vel pingere. ſed quocunque reperitur tolli, grauiffima pœna multandis, ſiqui contrarium ſtatutis noſtris tentauerint, ſpecialiter imperamus.* Whereas we take diligent care to defend in al points the Religiō of God, we ſpecially commaund, that it ſhalbe lawfull for no man to graue or to paint the Signe of our Sauour Chriſt in the ground, or in flint, or in marble ſtones lying on the ground, but whereſoeuer it is found, we commaund it to be taken vp, vnder a moſt grieuous forfeite to be paid of them, if any ſhall attempt the things which is

Cod. Iuſt. Tit. 11. li. vnica. Humi poſitis.

In the ground.

con-

contrary to our lawes.

13. Euen the same thinge S. Ambrose said *De obitu* by Helena, *metuebat calcare Sacramentum Sa-*
Theodosij *luis*, she feared to tread vpon the holy Signe
 of Saluation. Was not this a kind of honour-
 ring the holy signe of the Crosse, when for
 the honour thereof it is forbidden to be gra-
 tien vpon the ground, least it should be disho-
 noured, if it were troden vpon? This law
 being writen so long past, and preserved so
 notably these eleuen hundred yeeres in the
 body of the ciuil Constitutions, M. Iewel
 could not see: but he went to one Peter Cri-
 nite, a man of very late yeeres, to learne of
 him this auncient law, as though he knew it
 better then Iustinian. And when he had scra-
 ped out an obscure apparence therof, he en-
 glished it falsely, as I will shew hereafter.

14. But seing neither Helena, nor the
 Emperours, wold haue bene afeard to haue
 troden vpon two strawes, or two rushes, or
 two stickes lying by chance a Crosse, what is
 the matter, why they will not haue a painted
 or grauen Crosse troden vpon? Surely be-
 cause there is not only a natural or a casuall
 crossing of bars therein, but there is also a
 holy Image troden vpon, that is to say, such
 a thing is troden vpon, as was made of the
 Christians purposely with this faith and loue
 toward Christ, to haue his death honorably

remem^r

remembered: so that when such a Crosse is troden vpon the Faith of Christians, yea the Death of Christ is troden vnder feete. But what neede we proue that the Signe of the Crosse, was in old time honoured? M. Iewel himselfe confesseth it, saying.

Iewel. The Signe of the Crosse, I graunt, among the Christians, was had in great regard. (and after) for that most worthy price which was offered vpon it.

15. *Sander.* Is not this all one, as if in other wordes he said, the signe of the Crosse among the Christians was adored, worshipped and reuerenced? For if the great regard which was had of it, was had because the most worthy price of our redemption was offered vpon it, sithens a great regard had to a thinge for Gods sake, and in the respect of his Religion, is a kinde of worshipping: M. Iewel hath graunted to vs, that the Signe of the Crosse was honoured in old time. Or what difference is there, betweene hauing a great regard to a thing for Gods sake, and honouring the same?

16. If I esteeme my neighbour for Gods sake, surely therein I honour, and serue, or worship my neighbour, according as S. Paul saith, *by loue serue ye one the other.* Now it is well knowen, that euery seruant regardeth and honoureth his Master, and in him (if he

Gal. 5

doe

doe it for Gods sake) he honoureth God much more, for whose sake he esteemeth and reuerenceth his Master.

Gal. 3.

17. For the end why euery thing is done is more worth, and more to be respected then that which is done. And therefore he that loueth his neighbour for Gods sake hath in one word fulfilled the Law, as S. Paule teacheth: because in such a loue of his neighbour, the loue of God is more principallie contained. Euen so it is in regarding the Signe of the Crosse for his sake, who died vpon it. For both the Signe is honoured, and much more the thing which is signified.

Colos. 3.

18. I know euery regard is not commonlie taken for a worshipping, but yet it is so in this kind, as, when a man regardeth mony so much, that he coueteth to haue more then he needeth, doth not S. Paule name him the worshipper of Idols? And yet he perhaps intendeth not purposely to set vp his gold before him, and to fall downe before it, and so to worship it.

19. But in that he regardeth it so much, as in deede minding to goe beggarly, to fare miserably, or to vie extortion, and to lett his neighbours about him to die for hunger, rather then to spend his mony vpon himself, or his neighbour: this man doth in truth worship his mony, and worshippeth it when he

God he should not do so, although himselfe neither say, nor thincke so much.

20. Right so, if M. Iewel were assured, that he had a peece of Christes owne Crosse, and were of the minde to keepe it so safely, and to regard it so entirely, that he would preferre it before common wood, yea before all gold and siluer for his sake, who died vpon it (which to doe is no vnlawfull thing, but good and vertuouse) euen that regard of his, should be a worshipping and honouring of it, though he did neither kisse it, nor lie downe prostrate before it. For it is the mind, much more then the body, which determineth and causeth worshipping or honouring: In so much that if the minde should take that peece of wood to be God, the man should be straight an Idolatour. If againe he should take it for no better then a common peece of wood, he should be blasphemous against the death of Christ.

Note.

21. For if Christ vouchsafed to segregate and discern it from other wood, in making it alone of all woods the instrument of his passion, ought not I likewise to regard it thereafter? If then the great regard of the signe of the Crosse being had for his sake, who died thereon, be a certaine worshipping of the Crosse: seeing the Signe of the Crosse is an Image, Master Iewel is forced by his owne

Note.

P

words

words to confesse the worshipping of Images. But here let him answer for himselfe.

Iewel. It is not hitherto any way proued, that this Crosse was an Image, or that it was set vp in any Church, or that it was adored of the people. Certainly the letter that Ezechiel saw in a vision: the Crosse that Constantine saw in the aier: the marks that were either stained with water, or burnt with fire in the labours garments: the secret mystical letters in the Temple of Serapis: The cognisans of the Crosse painted, or grauen in flags, banners, targets, and coynes, were only barres laide a Crosse, and no Images.

22. *Sander.* Who euer heard of such a blind ignorance? A e not those Crosses, or rather those Signes, which folow, imitate, beroken, and sette forth Christes owne Crosse, wher-on he died, or els the same shape, wherein he hong with his armes spread abroad, are not such Signes, the Images of Christes Crosse? What call ye then an Image? I thought an Image had bene the likenes or similitude of the shape of one thing, which hath bene take out accordinge to the samplar of an other more principall thing, as I alleadged before out of S. Gregory Nazianzene.

lib. 4.
Theolog.

23. If then the Crosses, whereof Master Iewel speaketh, were the similitude of Christes owne Crosse, which is the principal patterne of all our holy Signes, what meaneth

he

heto say, they be no Images? Let him then shew vs the definition of an Image: yea lette him tell vs. Whether that inward sense of man, which is called the Imagination, be not such, as either receaueth of the common sense Images already formed, or frameth Images to it selfe, by compounding those things together diuersly, which it learned before one by one.

24. For either I conceaue a Tree, as in deede the Tree is, and then the Image thereof is already extant before that I vnderstand it, or I adde to a tree the wings of a bird, the taile of a fish, and so forth, and then although my Image (as so compounded) be nonitruouse, yet euery thing alone hath a truth, whereunto the partes may be referred.

25. To my purpose it sufficeth, that as the Imagination, is named of conceauing Images, so euery thing really extant, that may be imagined, or conceaued in the Imagination, may haue an Image thereof. Which thing I speake, least perhaps M. Iewel should think, that an Image must be alwaies meant, either of the shape of a man, or els of a beast, or els of some liuing thing. Wheras in deede, seing I may imagine a stone, it also may haue his Image. Why then shall not there be also an Image of the Crosse, sithens we may imagine the Signe of Christes Crosse?

All that
may haue
an Image,
which
may be
imagined;

26. Nay (saith M. Iewel) *All such Crosse
are barres laied a Crosse, and no Images.* Good
Syr: If barres laied a Crosse for the end to
imitate the barres laied a Crosse, where
Christ died, or the Crosse of his owne body
whereon his head stood vpward, his feet
downeward, and his armes stretched forth
in eche side: all Crosse, I say, that are made
to represent that Crosse, are most truly Images,
because they depend of an other principal
truth, whose shape they expresse.

*Iewel. Againe, the same Crosse were not set
vp in any Temple.*

Euodius
de miraculis S.
Stephani.

27. Sander. Not these in deede, that were
in the field, or in priuate houses: but other
like to them were set vp in the Temples, as
the storie of S. Stephens Image painted in
veile, and hanged vp before his owne Sepulchre
with a Crosse vpon his shoulder, doth
evidently witnesse: the which storie Euodius
the Bishop of Vzal in Afrike, writing about
S. Augustines time hath at large set forth
as it may be scene in a booke of S. Augustines
Sermons, printed at Louan, apud Hieronymum
Wellaum Anno Domini, 1564.

*Iewel. The people were not taught to kneele
downe to any Crosse, or to say, Al haile O Crosse,
our only hope.*

28. Sander. It is a marueile if the people
were not taught to doe that, which it is well
knowne

known they did, and they did it not only without reprehension of their preachers and Bishops, but also they should haue bene re-
 mended, if they had refused to kneele downe, or to adore the Crosse.

29. Sozomenus speaking of S. Michaels Church in Constantinople, telleth this story. *Probianus cum dudum Paganus esset. &c.* Probianus being sometimes a Pagan, but afterward made a Christian, did in some parte follow the doctrine of the Christians. But he would not adore the cause of all (our) health, that is to say, *the most holy Crosse*. He being of this minde, the Diuine power appeered vnto him, and shewed to him the Signe of the Crosse, that was set on the Altar of S. Michaels Church. And did manifestly declare, that from the time wherein Christ was crucified, all thinges which are done for the vtility of mankinde, were not done by any meanes, neither by the holy Angels, nor by godly men without the vertue of the Crosse, which ought to be adored.

Histor.
 tiip. li. 2.
 cap. 19.

A signe of
 the Crosse
 on the
 Altar.

30. Here it is euident, that both there was a Signe of the Crosse set vpon the Altar of S. Michaels Church, and also that Probianus was accompted as yet no perfite Christian, for that he would not adore the most holy Crosse of Christ, but hauing adored the Signe of the Crosse vpon better instruction,

he was healed of his dileale. It was therefore the vse of perfite Christians in those daies, to adore the Signe of the Crosse.

31. And whereas M. Iewel vpbraideth vs of these our wordes. *O Crux auespes vnica* All haile O Crosse our only hope, the which we sing kneeling on our knees on Passion soday: it may please him to consider, that those very wordes do so conuince his blasphemous doctrine, that he shall neuer be able to auoid the Argument which is grounde vpon them.

The hymne,
 ne,

32. Those wordes are in one of the hymnes of that holy time, the which hymne be- ginneth thus: *Vexilla Regis prodeunt, fulget Cru- cis mysterium*. The banners of the King come forth, the mystery of the Crosse shineth, whereby he that made flesh, in flesh was hanged on the gibbet. And when the said Hymne had staied a certaine time vpon the contemplation of that dreadful Sacrifice of Christes death, at the length it crieth out, *All haile O Crosse our only hope*, meaning doubtlesse thus, *O Christ stretched out vpon the Crosse, thou art our only hope*. For if the end of the Hymne shall agree with the beginning, and with the middle, it is Christ crucified, vpon whom the whole canticle is made.

33. And to make vs the better to thinck vpon that we singe, and to conceaue it more deuoutly,

deuoutly, we are appointed at the singing of those wordes to kneele, and to turne our selues toward the Altar, to the end, we fastening our eye vpon the Signe of the Crosse, might print in our hart a more liuely representation of that precious death of Christ.

34. I pray you, M. Iewel, did not S. Paule vse the same selfephraze, when he said, *Abstine mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi?* God forbid that I should glorie, but Gal. 6. only in the Crosse of our Lord Iesu Christ? Is it not all one to say, I glory in nothing els but in the Crosse, or, the Crosse is my only hope? For *We glory in the hope of the glory of God*, as also S. Paule affirmeth. If then the meaning be good, and the like phraze be in S. Paule, what a cancred malice is this, to set forth those words in contempt, which are so deuoutly meant of all good Christians? Rom. 8.

35. But to come neere to the principall point, if this himne were made, *before the six hundred yeeres were ended*, are not the same verie wordes, and the custome of Gods people in kneeling downe before the Signe of the Crosse, while they sing or speake them, a sufficient witnessse, to proue that M. Iewel ought to subscribe? It may be well thought, that seing this Hymne doth concerne the holy time of Lent, *and of Christes passion*, and seing it is receaued, not only in England, but also

in Italie, Fraunce, Spaine and in other like Countries, that it is one of those auncient hymnes, which were made in the old time

The writers of it
witness.

36. Of the which, as there were diuers authours, to wit, S. Hilarie, S. Ambrose Fortunatus, Sedulius, Prudentius, and S. Gregorie: so who soeuer of them made this Hymne, he was within the first six hundred yeeres: and consequently these wordes were taught to be song and said toward the Signe of the Crosse (in respect of Christ crucified) by the people kneeling, and saying, *All hail O Crosse, thou art our only hope*. What hath M. Iewel won now by his scoffing at these wordes?

37. Moreouer, seing M. Iewel confesseth, that the signe of Christes Crosse, was had in great regard among the Auncient Fathers, and that for Christes sake, is it not all one, to regard the said Crosse greatly (as he before confessed the Fathers to doe for Christs sake) or els, for Christes sake to kneele doune vnto the Crosse, or to say, *Haile o Crosse* (that is to say, Christ crucified) *our only hope*? And yet S. Chrysostome saith also: *Hodiernus dies pretiosa Crucis venerationi constitutus est*. This daie is assigned, for the worshippinge of the preciousse Crosse. And againe: *Admodum beati ij. qui castis labijs sanctoque ore eam vt amplexentur exeunt*. They are verie happie, who come out

Rom. de
adorat.
Crucis.

out of their doores to embrace, or kisse this Crosse, with chaste lyppes, and with a holy mouth.

38. The which wordes albeit they were spoken of the holy wood of Christes Crosse, whereof Chrysostome did sette forth some parcell to be kissed and embraced, yet seeing I proued before out of S. Ambrose, that the wood (as materiall wood) was not to be adored, but only as an Image or representation of Christ crucified, the same Example doth also proue, that Images may be kissed with chaste lyppes, and with a holy mouth.

De obitu
Theodosij

39. But my intent is not to speake at large of the Crosse, whereof whole bookes and Treatises be written, by M. Cope, and M. Marshal. It suffiseth me to note, first, that a great regard of the signe of the Crosse had of the Auncient Fathers (which M. Iewel confesseth, not knowing the sequele thereof) doth proue, that they worshipped the saied signe. Againe, that the signes of the holy Crosse of Christ are verely Images, and therefore that when they were set vp in Churches, and worshipped, Images are proued to haue bene sette vp and worshipped.

Note,

That

That other holy Images both might be adored profitably, and without Iewish bondage by S. Augustines owne doctrine, and also were adored within the first six hundred yeeres after Christ. With a defense of S. Chrysostomes Liturgie against M. Iewel.

THE XIV. CHAPTER.

De doct.
Christ. li.
3. cap. 9.

1. **T**He generall doctrine of S. Augustine concerning Signes which belong to Religion, may be well applied to this our purpose. Thus he writeth: *Qui aut operatur, aut veneratur vile signum &c.* He that either worketh, or worshippeth, a profitable Signe instituted by Gods Authoritie, the strength and signification whereof he vnderstandeth, he worshippeth not that which is seene and passeth away, but that thing rather, wherunto all such thinges are to be referred.

2. Images are profitable signes, because they bring vs to the remembrance of good things. They are also instituted by Gods authority, because he willed them to be made according to the imitation of nature, and of Nations, and namely he instituted Images in the Law of Moyse, and least the tradition to his Church freely to make Images of good things, which thing the Church practised so

com-

commonly, that beside the examples allea-
ged before out of *a* Eusebius, we reade that
in S. Augustin, as well of the Erhnicks as of
the Chriilians: *Pluribus locis simul Petrum &*
Paulum cum Christo pictos viderunt &c. They
sawe in very many places Peter and Paule
painted together with Christ, because Rome
doth set foorth the merits of Peter and Paule
the more famously and solemnely, euen for
that they suffered both vpon one daie.

De conf.
Euangel.
li. 1. c. 10.

3. Vpon which three Images so com-
monly seene, the Heathens grounded this
errour, that Christ wrote certaine bookes,
dedicating or intituling them to Peter and
Paule. But although the sight of Images did
them no good, as being Infidels, to whom
the Gospell it selfe did no good: yet by this
example it appeereth, that before the daies
of S. Augustin, Images were commonly vsed
in Rome, and in other places.

4. S. Gregorie of Nyssa sheweth the like
custome to haue beene vsed in the Greeke
Church, confessing expresse, *that the Painter*
With the Flowers of his art, as it were in a booke,
did sette forth in the Church of Theodorus the
Martyr his valiaunt deedes, his torments, and
his gloriouse victorie and conquest by sufferinge
death.

De Theod.
Ma laude.

Images.
in Chur-
ches.

5. Of the Images in the Church wals of
S. Felix his Temple, who knoweth not, that
hath

Natal. 10. hath readen S. Paulinus workes? Gregorius
 Hist. li. 7. Turonensis also speaketh of the paintings of
 the wals, in S. Martins Church at Tours in
 France.

6. If now it be certain, that Images were made without all scruple in the Primitive Church, if they were commonly set vp, both in Churches, and without Churches, I take it for an euident proufe, that Images are Signes instituted, *diuinitus*, that is to say, *by the Will and pleasure of God*. Whether that his wil were commended to vs by the law of nature, and of Nations, or els whether the Apostles and Fathers made this Reason for it, that if in the time of bondage, yet some Images were permitted to the Iewes, who were so proane to Idolatrie, much more Christes people deliuered from Idolatrie, and from the feare of Idolatrie, may according to the freedome of the new Testament, make all good and profitable Images: or els whether it were by speciall wordes of Christes owne mouth, or by special inspiration of the holy Ghost reuealed to the Apostles: once it is cleer, that Images are a kind of Signes, which bring great profite to vs. And that the same kind of Signes, were instituted by Gods will and pleasure.

7. Whereupon it followeth by S. Augustins doctrine, *That who so worshippeth such a signe,*

signe, worshippeth not anie transitorie thing, but he worshippeth rather that thing wherunto those signes are to be referred. He therefore that worshippeth S. Peters Image, worshippeth S. Peter him selfe, rather then his Image. And likewise in S. Peter he worshippeth Christ, rather then S. Peter. And in Christ rather the Godhead, then the manhood.

8. By the force of which doctrine, we may well perceave, that there is no danger in worshipping Images, if we vnderstand them to be Images, as all men do now (God be praised) and haue alwaies done after that Christ appeered in flesh.

9. Before whose comming, there were in the world (as S. Augustin in the same place declareth) two kindes of men, of the which eche one worshipped Signes: The Gentils worshipped them, not knowing them to be signes, nor vsing them as signes, but they gaue the honor due to God vnto the signes, and vnto the Images made with mans hand, in so much that they either made no interpretation of their Signes, or if at any time they did endeouour to expound them, *ad creaturam colendam, venerandamque referebant*, they referred them to the end a creature might be worshipped and reuerenced.

10. On the other side, the Iewes worshipped signes, not knowing commonly what they

Li. 3. c. 9.
de doct.
Christ.

The Signes
of the
Gentils.

The Signes of the
Iewes.
Heb. 9.

they meant, *for they worshipped the holie of bodies*, not knowing it to signifie heaven. But yet knowing they were signes, and referring them to the worshippe of one God. Which later kinde of worshipping is not vnprofitable, although it be not free and throughly spiritual.

Galat. 5.

11. But the former kind of Signes is very hurtfull. And verely both are a certaine bondage. For he is bond to the Signe, either who taketh it for the thinge it selfe, or els worshippeth it as a Signe, and yet knoweth not what it signifieth. But we that are made free in Christ, both know our Signes and Images to be Images and signes (which also the Iewes did) and we knowe moreouer, whereof they are the Signes (which thing the Iewes did not know) and we refer the worship of them, not finally to any creature (as the Gentils did) but vnto one God, by Iesus Christ our Lord. Therefore our worshipping of Signes is not only profitable, as that of the Iewes was, but also spirituall and free from all bondage.

12. The Signes of the Gentils were taken away and cleane destroyed, because they ended in the onely honour of Creatures and not of God. The Signes of the Iewes were not vtterly dissolued and abolished, but rather altered and changed. We then must haue
Signes

Signes also : and not only new Sacraments for olde as Baptisme for Circumcision, Christes Supper for the Paschal Lambe, which most holy Signes are directly instituted by Christ, but we must haue also certaine Signes made with faithfull mens hands, as they had signes made with mens hands. We must haue Altars, Vestments, Chalices, lightes, and Images, as well as they had all those thinges. And so long as we knowe what they meane, we may worship them both profitably and without any bondage.

Math. 24.
& 28.

13. The Iewes beinge cleerly vnable, to coniecture what the lifting vp of the brasen Serpent signified, lest the worshipping of a profitable signe, and worshipped vnprofitably the brasle it selfe. But we worship neither wood, nor brasle, but principally the truth which is meant by our Images, and consequently the Images as holy thinges belonging to the truth. For now Christ prouided our signes to be so well knowen, and to be so common, that no man is able to be ignorant of them, though he would in maner affect ignorance.

Num. 21.

4. Reg. 13.

14. The conclusion is, that S. Augustine confesseth we may worship signes instituted by Gods appointment. But Images are instituted by the law of nations (for the artes of Painting and of grauing are laudable) by the law

law of Moyſes, and by the Vniuerſal cuſtom of Gods Church, euery of which is the pointment of God: therefore Images may profitably and freely worſhipped.

15. And that in praſtiſe it was ſo do within the firſt ſix hundred yeeres, S. Chryſoſtome, Paulinus, and S. Gregorie doe witneſſe.

Chryſoſt.
in Liturg.

In S. Chryſoſtomes Liturgie (which containeth the Seruice of the Greeke Church for the publike Sacrifice) we read, *that the Priſt went forth at the litle dore (of the quier) carrying the Goſpel, and the Miniſter going beſide with light. Et conuerſus ad Chriſti Imaginem inter duo oſtia, inflexo capite dicit hanc orationem.* And the Priſt being turned toward the Image of Chriſt betweene the two dores hauing bowed his head, ſaith this prayer: and there the prayer followeth. Could the Priſt haue turned him ſelfe toward the Image of Chriſt betweene the two dores, except Chriſtes Image had ſtood betweene the two dores? Or when he bowed his head before the Image, did he not then reuerence the Image? Herunto M. Iewel anſwereth.

Bowing
to the Image of
Chriſt.

Iewel. In the communion booke that beareth the name of Chryſoſtome, there is mention made of Nicolas B. of Rome, who liued wel neere, ſix hundred yeeres after Chryſoſtome.

In his
Replie
fol. 204.

16. Sander. This ſable M. Iewel bringeth in, to diſcredite the witneſſe of S. Chryſoſtome

home, willing his Reader to perswade himselfe, that it is not S. Chrysostoms owne Liturgie. But what thing can be knowen to be his, if that *Which beareth his name*, which is witnessed to be his by other Grecians who who haue written since that time, as Proclus, Cabasilas, Methonensis and M. Ephesus, who all make mention thereof? to be short, if that which is not only copied out, kept and readen, but also song euery holy day in the Greeke Church, if that worke shal be denied to be S. Chrysostomes, then let vs denie the Psalme. *Quicumque vult*, to be made by S. Athanasius, or *Te Deum laudamus*, to be made by S. Ambrose, and S. Augustine.

In Liturgicis,

17. If all the East Church suffise not to make faith for S. Chrysostomes Liturgie, what witnesses shall be credited hereafter?

18. Concerning M. Jewels reason, it is a meere cauil. For whereas in all publike Seruice and formes of Oathes, there are certaine common places which must be least void for names accordinge to the persons and times (as the name of the Saint whose feast is kept, the name of the Bishop who then liueth, and and of the Emperour that then reigneth, or of him that speaketh or sweareth) that place and part is subiect to change as the occasion serueth: and therefore commonly no name of them is expressed, Howbeit now it so chaun-

Q

ced,

2. ced, that the Greeke copie, out of which Leo Iulcus translated S. Chrysostomes Liturgie not long after the time of Alexius, was such as had bene vsed in the time of Alexius the Emperour, and therefore his name was written in the said booke, and likewise the name of Nicolaus, who was at the same time Patriarke of Constantinople, and not Bishop of Rome, as M. Iewel reporteth.

In Liturgia.

19. The wordes are these. *Nicolai Sancti & Vniuersalis Papa longa sint tempora, leutherij Alexandria, Cyrilli Antiochia, Leonis Hierosolymorum longa sint tempora.* In which words the Priest standing at the Altar, prayeth for Nicolas the most holy and vniuersal Pope, and for the other three Patriarches Alexandria, Antiochia, and Ierusalem. The most holy and vniuersal Pope was not meant the Pope of Rome, as M. Iewel saith, for the Pope of Rome neuer yet would take that title of vniuersal Bishop, as it may appeere in Leo the first, and by S. Gregorie, but reproued alwaies the Patriarches of Constantinople, for vsurping the same proud and false name of Vniuersall, the which importeth as though there were but one Bishop or Patriarch in all, and that all the rest should be Bishops. Neither is it like, that any man prayed for by that title which him selfe misliketh.
- 3.

20. Moreouer in the time of Alexius, and before the Sea of Constantinople was so diuided from the See of Rome (concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost) that the Pope of Rome was not prayed for *ordinarilie* at Constantinople. 4

21. Adde herunto, that there is no Bishop of Constantinople praied for at all, if the said Nicolas be not the Bishop thereof. For the name, of Pope was geuen in the old time to euery Bishop, being no more to say but, Father. 5

22. Verely there was no Pope Nicolas at Rome in the time of Alexius. 6

23. Moreouer the common Greeke copies haue not those names of Nicolas, or of Alexius: no nor all the Latin Copies, as it may appeere by the translation of Erasmus. 7

24. What shall I say that *Claudius de Sanctis*, by conferring diuerse places taken out of S. Chrysostoms owne workes, hath euidently proued, the said Liturgie to be his. 29

25. Last of all, Zonaras writing the life of the Emperour Alexius, hath these words: *Patriarcha uero Nicolaus, &c.* Nicolas the Patriarch hauing ruled the Church seuen and twentie yeeres, died a very olde man, whose corps the Emperour did honourably burie. There was no Pope of Rome that euer liued in his Bishoprike seuen and twenty yeeres, 10. Lib. 39

nor yet five and twentie (S. Peter onely excepted) nor Alexius did not come to burie any Pope at Rome.

26. This being so, is not M. Iewel a discrete reprobator of S. Chrysostomes Liturgie? But if it stande safe, then is there an Image proued to haue beene bowed vnto, in the Church in S. Chrysostomes time, euen by that translation which Erasmus made. But lette vs goe forward to other examples.

Images in
a Church.

27. One Seuerus a man of notable vertue and learning, did build two Churches and a Baptisterie, which was a Chappel wherein a great Font stood to Baptise men in. Within that Baptisterie, Seuerus painted the Images of S. Martin, and of S. Paulinus Bishoppe of Nola, to this end, that those who were Baptized, should by those Images haue so excellent men, as the one had beene, and as the other yet was, before their eyes, to follow their vertues and good life.

Paulinus
Seuero.
Epist. 12.

28. Of S. Martins Image thus writeth S. Paulinus in his twelue th epistle. *Recte in loco refectionis humanae Martinus pingitur, &c.* Martin is well painted in the place of mans regeneration. Who caried the Image of the celestiall mā by the perfect following of Christ, that the shape of a heauenly soule may come to their mind to be followed, who laid doune in Baptisme their earthly Image.

29. And

29. And least any man should thinke, that the said Image was there to be only seene or looked on, but otherwise might not be reuerenced: the same Paulinus in the same Epistle speaketh of the same Image in this wise. *Martinum veneranda viri testatur Imago*. The reuerend Image of the man doth witnesse or shew forth Martin. *Veneranda Imago*, is an Imageworthy of reuerence, or which ought to be reuerenced.

30. It was alleaged before out of S. Gregorie, that he said, *Wee lie prostrate*, or fall doune, *before the Image, not as before the God head*, but we remember him that was borne or died for vs. Wherby it may appeere, how falsely M. Iewel saierh.

Lib. 7.
Epist. 53.

Iewel. As for Gregorie, notwithstanding he speake expressly of Images, yet he speaketh not one word of the adoration of Images.

31. *Sander*. He saith, *Non quasi ante Diuinitatem, ante illam (Imaginem) prosternimus*. We lie prostrate before that (Image) not as before the Godhead. Is not lying flat doune before an Image, one worde spoken of adoration of Images? Yea rather it is cleere, that it was the vse in S. Gregories time, to lie prostrate, or to fall doune before holy Images, but not with the minde that they were Gods, but with the mind that they making we remember God, and that as thinges insti-

tuted

tuted and specially assigned to that purpose, were also worthy of honor and of falling doune before them, for his sake, whom they represented.

32. But because it were too long to prosecute particular Examples one by one (of which sort many are set forth in the Seuenth General Council) let vs generally defend the adoration of Images, according to the Seuenth Generall Council, to the end those examples and authorities, which are well and truly alleaged there for this purpose, may at once be defended, against M. Iewels barking and railing.

That the Seuenth Generall Councell was a true Council, and ought to be obeyed, and Master Iewels slaunders be answered concerning the same. Where also it is briefly shewed, that Miracles might, and haue bene wrought by holie Images.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

1. **B**Ecause the Protestants haue refused the common and ordinarie iudgement of certaine General Councils, I haue hitherto proued the honouring of Images by other meanes. But now I maie not omitte to shewe also, that they doe vniustlie take vpon

pon them, to condemne that graue Senate of
three hundred and fiftie Bishoppes gathered
together at Nice.

Iewel. This second Councell of Nice was holden well neere eight hundred yeeres after Christ.

2. *Sander.* Then it was holden aboute seven hundred yeeres before you, or your Congregation were borne. If that then must not be credited, because it was yonger then the first sixe hundred yeeres after Christ, will you be credited, which write almost sixteen hundred yeeres after Christ? If this Councel lacke Antiquitie, as being kept two hundred yeeres after the first six hundred yeeres: doe not al your miserable conuenticles kept now in these our daies lacke Antiquitie, which are almost a thousand yeeres behind the first six hundred? It is an Extreme blindnes, to thinke that eight hundred yeeres are late, and that fiftene hundred after Christ are Auncient.

Iewel. To open the whole follie and fondnesse of that Councel, it would require a long treatise.

3. *Sander.* Who is more like to a be foole and fond? M. Iewel, or three hundred and fiftie Bishoppes gathered out of all Christendome, as the most excellent that then liued for wit, vertue, and learning?

Iewel. Irene the Empresse a wicked woman, &c.

4. *Sander.* Nicephorus telling the arguments

ment of his twentieth Tome, saith, it shall comprehend, *Res gestas p̃ij imperij Constantini & Irene*. The Actes of the Godlie Empire of Constantinus and of Irene. Nauclerus saith she was borne to gouerne. Zonaras confesseth her to haue bene ambitious. But that which purgeth all, she her selfe confessed her selfe to haue bene worthelie punished for her sinnes, and so by fleeing to God for mercie, she is at the least now made a good woman. And verely her zeale toward holy Images did make her the better.

Iewel. The Kinges daughter of Tartarie, a Heathen borne.

5. *Sander.* A weightie cause surelie, why the Seuenth Generall Councell should be discredited. As though Constantinus the Great, who called the first Generall Councell, was not a heathen borne. The Obiection were somewhat worth, if any man were borne a Christian. Tertullian saith, *Finis, non nascuntur Christiani*: Christians be made, and not borne.

In Apolo.

6. I am sure Irene was Christened, before she procured the Councell. And yet I doubt, whether M. Iewel thincke somuch of *Constantinus Magnus*. For perhaps he doth credit Eusebius in that behalfe, and so taking the power of Authorizing that Councell from Siluester the Pope of Rome, he maketh the
first

first Councell to be called, and confirmed, and Authorized by one that was not Baptized. Thinke vpon it, M. Iewel, what you will choole to saie.

Iewel. She caused that Councell to be summoned in despite of the Councel of Constantinople, that had decreed against Images.

7. *Sander.* Zonaras telleth, that she and the Patriarch Tarasius, sent to Adrianus the Pope of Rome, desiring him and the other Patriarches, to be at the Councell. So that it was not her onlie Authoritie that ruled the matter.

In vita
Constant.
& Iren.

8. But in that you speake of a Councell gathered at Constantinople, by like then there was a Councell gathered there. But by whom? I aske you not by what Pope (for that you can not abide) but by what Emperour was it gathered? What Patriarches came to it? What number of Bishoppes was there assembled? Where be the Actes and Canons of it? Which I speake not, as though I thought, there was none at all, but to shew that it was an obscure, and a seditious conspiracy of a few Heretikes, not receaued at any time for a Generall Councell, nor at all confessed by the cheefe Patriarches, nor Authorized by the Bishoppes of Rome. Neither doth anie Greeke or Latine writer of that Age, or nigh about that time, accōpt it for any other then

It was
called
Pseudoc.

modus.
A false
councell.

then a false and impious conuenticle.

9. Nicephorus, Phorius, Eutymius, Zonaras, Pselmus, Ballamon, Sigebertus, Platina, Nauclerus, yea all the Grecians which mette at Florence, and all the Latine writers and Fathers acknowledge none other Generall Councell (after the Sixthe vnder Pope Agatho) beside that Seuenth Councell, which was sollicitated by Irene and Constantinus.

Zonaras
in vita
Constan.
& Irene.

10. But the occasion of calling it, was Paulus the Patriarch of Constantinople, who perceauing Constantinople to be diuided from all the rest of the Catholike Church (for that the holy Images were there pulled doune and dishonoured) he refused to Gouerne anie more, and went into a Monastery to doe penance for himselfe and his people. And Tarasius being cholen Patriarch after Paulus, refused it likewise, except a Generall Councell might be called, whereby the Church of Constantinople might be vnited to the rest of Christendome. Vppon this occasion Irene moued with his Request, sent to Pope Adrian and to the other Patriarches, desiringe them to assemble together, which they did.

Iewel. She tooke her owne sonne Constantinus, and pulled out his eyes.

11. Sander. Is the Councell naught therefore?

fore? As though the Princes euill deede, were able to make the Doctrine of the Church naught.

Iewel. She did it onely, because he would not consent to the Idolatrouse hauing of Images.

12. *Sander.* That is not true. Except perhaps you will make vs new histories, as well as you geue vs a new faith. Did not he first repell his owne mother from the gouernement? Who, I pray you was elder of the sonne, or of the mother? Who should succede rather in the Empire, if the matter went by succession? Or who was more bound to the other? He to his Mother, or shee to him? Reade you (*M. Iewel*) that the Mother should honour her Child, or that the Child should honor his Mother? Which thing because *Constantinus* did not, but rather deposed her, he died in prison, and that worthely as *Platina* saith, *Tanquàm sacrilegus, minimaque pietatis, quippe qui matrem relegauerat*, as being a despiser of holines, and void of deuotion, as who bannished his owne mother.

Exod. 20.

In vita Leonis. 3.

13. *Zonaras* also and *Nauclerus* tell, that he did shut vp in a Monastery *Marie* his wife against her will, and married and crowned queene *Theodora* her hādmaiden. This was the way to make him to hate holy Images.

In vita Constant.

Foras *Zonaras* telleth, he adored Images in the

the beginning: but after that the mind is embroued with euill deedes and wicked thoughtes, it is a greefe to the eye, to see afterward any good remembrance. *Euery Saintes Image is a condemnation to him that is euill.*

Iewel. The bishops and doctours of that Council, manifestly corrupted the Scriptures.

14. *Sander.* A great fault and if it be proued: and being not proued, it is a great deadlie sinne for you to say it. And for my parte I haue shewed before, that the Scriptures were well applied by the Bishoppes, and that you doe vniuistly reprove them.

Iewel. They falsified the holy Fathers without shame.

15. *Sander.* Let vs thinke, whether it be more credible, that three hundred and fiftie did so, or that you belie them.

Iewel. They said, Imago melior est quàm oratio. An Image is better then a prayer.

16. *Sander.* Here are but fiae Latine wordes, and yet three faultes are found in Master Iewel, in citing them. First they were not many who said it, but only one. And yet M. Iewel writeth, that *(they said)*. Next it is not writen, *melior est Imago*, an Image is better, but, *Maiores est Imago*. An Image is greater. Some things are greater then other, which yet are not better. Last of all *Oratio*, doth signifie an oration in that place, & not a prayer,

as M. Iewel hath translated it. For it foloweth immediatlie, *Atque hoc prouidentia Dei con-*
gigit, propter idiotas homines. And this thing
 hath come to passe by the prouidence of God,
 for the simple mens sake, who can not read
 or vnderstand a learned oration.

17. So that the Father who spake these
 wordes, meant that the liuely setting forth
 of the storie of Euphemia the Martyr (where
 of they spake) was greater to moue affections
 in the ignorant people, then either a learned
 oration made with the tong, or written in
 bookes. And according to the same sense it
 is said by an other afterward. *Compunctionem*
sacrae Imagines excitant in Sanctis viris. Ho-
 lie Images haue stirred vp a compunction or
 a vehement affection of the hart in holy men.
 But if *Oratio* did signify twenty thinges, M.
 Iewel comming like a spider to euery flower
 in the garden would picke nothing but Poi-
 son out of it. Is *Oratio* a praier, euery where?
 Then Cicero was a very deuout man, for he
 made and wrote many and long orations.
 But if in examininge fise wordes, there are
 found three faultes, what would come to
 passe, if I should aunswere the whole Article
 of M. Iewel?

Concil.
 Nice. 2.
 Action. 4.

Iewel. And againe, *Who so euer will not adore*
the Godlie Images, accursed be he.

Action. 2.

18. Sander, You haue pronounced their
 sen-

sentence against your selfe. They said: *Accursed be he, whosoever will not adore the Divine Images.* That is to say, Images belonging to God, or to his Friendes: but you being meeter to be a Iester, then a Bishop, thought to make a little sporte, by calling them godly Images. And as they said it, so they might say it, for that Christ said to their Predecessours, and thereby to them. *Whatsoever things you bind in earth, they shall be bound in heaven.* They haue bound them that refuse to adore holy Images, let them that are guilty of that euill opinion, looke who will loose them at the day of iudgement.

Math. 18.

19. Beside this, M. Iewel in diuerse other places, reproveth the same Council as Childish, and at his pleasure reciteth their words not in deede at large, & as they were spoken but defacing them after his maner. To all which his vngodly doing, I make this answer.

In his
Replie
fol. 508.

20. First, there is no impietie or falsehood approued or decreed in that Councell.

21. Secondly, whereas euery Father one by one, spake his mind, it must not be thought, that euery worde there vttered, is the determination of the whole Council: no more then euery Burgesse voice or suffrage, is the Acte of Parliament.

22. Thirdlie, the Scriptures which they bring,

bring, are better applied for the honouring of Images (as I haue in part shewed before) then they are hitherto impugned by M. Iewel. For he bringeth nothing but his Bishoplic scoffes against them.

23. Fourthly, the miracles there told, as thinges that were wrought by God in the Images of his Saintes, are such, as be not against Faith. And therefore they ought to be credited of charitable men, rather then to be laughed at. And forasmuch as I haue hitherto laid nothing of the Miracles, which may be wrought by Saints Images, it shall not be amisse to speake a litle of that matter.

24. The Apostles wrought so great miracles in Ierusalem, and the people so magnified and honoured them, that they caried sick and weake men into the streates, puttinge them in couches and beds. *Vt veniente Petro, saltem vmbra illius obumbraret quenquam illum.* To the end when Peter should come, at the least his shadow might ouershadow some of them. Here the very shadow of S. Peter is accompted of vertue and power to heale men, and consequently it is honoured. For wheras the ground of al honor consisteth in the minde, surely the minde looketh for aide aboue nature and by miracle of none other thing, then of that which it iudgeth to be of more worthinesse then it selfe, or then any

A. Corū 3.

Note,

any other ordinarie meane of healing is.

25. If then we honor the Phisition, when
 Ecclef. 38. we esteeming his knowlege, looke for ordi-
 nary helpe at his hande: much more they ho-
 noured S. Peters shadowe, who looked for
 miraculouse helpe by approching thereunto.
 And yet what thing is that shadow of his,
 The sha- but the comming of his body betweene the
 dow. Sunne, and those whom he ouershadowed?

26. If then the shadow which is so, as it
 were by chance, occasioned, yet because it
 was his shadow, was able to helpe them,
 who in the faith of Christ (whose Apostle
 S. Peter was) laid them selues in the way as
 he should passe: seing the Image of S. Peter
 is also a thing occasioned not only by chance,
 Note. but by speciall deuotion of them who for
 their affection to him, and much more to his
 maister, caused it to be made: why may not
 it also heale them, who in the faith of Christ
 (whose Apostle Saint Peter is) come to the
 Church, to haue the only Image of S. Peter
 before their eyes? For as being at home, if
 they only pray to S. Peter in this beliefe that
 Hieronym aduersus Vigilant. he now being with Christ is able, as well as
 other Saintes are, to obtaine aide for them,
 they may, and many times haue bene healed
 by the vertue which God hath graunted to
 his Apostle S. Peter: so, much more if with
 the same faithfull deuotion a man come to

Church

Church, and there set him selfe downe, or kneele before S. Peters Image, intending for the better directing of his minde to S. Peter, to haue his Image before his eyes; and so to ioyne the inward vnderstanding and the outward sense together: Much more this man were like to obtain his desire through Christ, because he sought the moe meanes to geue strength vnto his prayer.

27. What say we then? Doth S. Peters Image heale diseases? How say you, Master Jewell, doth S. Peters shadow heale diseases? Doth S. Pauls girdle or napkin, heale diseases, *Actor. 19.* and cast out Devils? Doth Elizeus staffe raise vp the dead? At the lest the Prophet thought it would haue done so, and by like it had done so, if some other vnknown dispensation of God, had not stayed it. *4. Reg. cap. 4.*

28. I praie you, did not the Herbe, which grew at the feete of Christes Image, take that vertue to heale diseases, when it came to touche the hem of the cote of the Image? *Euseb. lib. 7. ca. 18.* It was therefore the Image which gaue that vertue of healing to the Herbe. When I say, the Image gaue that vertue, I meane, that Christ by the Image gaue it.

29. There is so much honour due to Christes visible appearing on the earth, that not only he in his flesh doth worke what him pleaseeth; but he also in his Sacraments, he

in his word being preached, he in his Apostles and Seruantes, he in their Napkins, he in their Images, he in their shadowes worketh Miracles, according to our Faith, and his pleasure.

30. And as that most heavenly instrument of Gods grace toward vs (I meane the flesh of Christ) being highest ioyned to the Godhead, is worthy of the highest Honour of all: So all other thinges are worthy of more or lesse Honour, but all are worthie of some Honour, which soeuer are made the instruments of Gods grace toward vs.

31. What meaneth then M. Iewel, to call the Miracles, reported in the Seuenth Generall Councell, to be done by Images, *Idolatrous Fables*? Is not that to call Eusebius, the writer of the Tripartite Historie, Nicephorus, Theophilaetus Idolatours? For they beleeued the Miracle, which was wrought by Christes Image in Paneade a Citie of Phenicia. And is Gods hand bound from that daie forward, that it may neuer worke any other Miracle by holie Images?

32. Hitherto I haue answered generally to M. Iewels generall obiections, concerning the Seuenth Councell: but now I will bring a most euident reason, why euery man ought to beleue, and to obey the same seuenth generall Councell kept at Nicea, vnder paine

Fol. 508.
Tripart.
lib. 6.
cap. 41.

of euerlasting damnation.

33. The state of the Question at that time was, *Whether the Images of Christ, and of his Saints, might be vsed and honoured in the Churches, or no.* They that saied they might be vsed and honoured, mainteined the vse of their Forefathers, and thereby were in possession. For it was impossible for Images to haue bene throwen downe (as being saied to be abused, and to be made Idols) if in deede they had not bene both vsed and honoured of the Christians.

Possessio.

34. Those then that threw them doune, because they iudged them to be abused, went about (as they thought) to amend that abuse. But the other Christians iudged it no abuse at all, and therefore withstoode the Image breakers. Therefore (as I said at the first) it must needes be confessed, that those were in possession of honouring Images, who defended the honouring of them. Let that be well remembered.

35. Againe, the Image breakers being well assured, that in all great controuerfies a Generall Councell is wont to be called, endeavouring to preuent and to preoccupate that name and Authoritie, came together so conuertlie, that it is neither knowen who summoned them, nor what number was present, nor what order they vsed, nor who approued

A private
cōuenticle

or executed their Decree.

Ioan. 3.

36. It was then a thing done in the darknesse, *which is the signe of an euill conscience. For he that doth euill, hateth the light.* Yet because it bare the name of a conuenticle, the Catholikes were desierouse to haue a iust, full, and perfit Councell, and thereupon they sollicitated Irene the Empresse for the same purpose.

An open
General
Councell.

37. She being perswaded to haue a Councell called, causeth Adrian the Bishoppe of Rome and the other Patriarches, to be certified thereof: who all agreed vpon the time and place. And when there were together about three hundred and fiftie Bishops, beside many Abbats, and other learned men, they decreed, as other Councils, and namely the Sixt had geuen them a President, and as the vniuersall practise of the Church was, *that holie Images ought to be adored.*

38. This Councell was confirmed and registred for a knowen lawful Generall Councell throughout all Christendome. And hath borne the name of the Seuenth Generall Councell so generally, that Heretikes can not doe otherwise, then so to call it, if they will be vnderstoode whereof they speake.

The Se-
uenth coun-

39. Now if this were a lawfull Generall Councell, it ought to be obeyed and beleeued. If it were not lawfull, how shal we know
what

what is a lawfull Councell? Or what had the first Generall Councell being kept vnder Constantinus the Great, which this Councell had not? *That was kept at Nice, so was this.*

40. Whether that was summoned by a Pope of Rome (without whose Authoritie the old Decrees will, no Councell to be auailable) or by an Emperour, whom the Protestants would haue to be cheefe in that kind, or by both: this also was summoned by Constantinus the Emperour, Irene the Empreffe, and Authorized by Adrianus the Pope of Rome.

41. In the first there were three hundred and eightene Bishopes: here were more. There, *the matter in controuersie was persilie discussed*, and so was it here: in so much that much more is now extant of this Disputation, then of that.

42. There, *were the foure cheefe Patriarches*, the same were here. There; sentence was geuen for that beliefe, *vse, and custome, which the Church had obserued before*: so was it done here. *That decree was put in execution*, so was this.

43. Against that Councell, the Heretickes made false Conuenticles, so did they against this. *That preuailed in the end*, so did this: in somuch that al the Churches in Christendom were againe filled with Images, and they were againe honoured vntill these our daies.

cel is conferred with the First.

1.

2.

Tripart.
lib. 4. c. 94

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

44. What is it then why the first General Councell was good, and the Seuenth being in all points like that, was not good? M. Iewel would say, that in the First Councell the word of God preuailed, and in the Second it was oppressed. But as the Arrians would not confesse, that the worde of God preuailed in the First Councell: so they are Hereticques who affirme, that the word of God was oppressed in the Later Councell.

Note.

45. And I praie you, what a franticke madnes is this, for a priuate mā to fitte iudge ouer a whole General Councell: Was it therefore gathered out of all the world, that priuate me might afterward control it? They that made that decree, said it was agreeable to Gods word, that holy Images should be honoured, and therein stood the cheefe controuerfie. And shall it now be lawfull to say, that they iudged not well?

46. A iudge comming to fitte vpon a weightie matter, hath a solemne order prescribed to him by the law, the which he is bound to follow. If now he doe follow that order, shall his sentence be afterward reuoked, because he is said not to haue geuen sentence as the cheefe would haue wished? The seuenth Councel kept the same order in comming together, in examining matters, in making Canons, and in departing home, that
which

which all other Generall Councils had kept.

47. Beside many other things, which this Seuenth Generall Council hath common with all other Councils, it hath this singular Prerogative, that, none other Council is knowen to haue had so many present in it, who recanted openly their former error, as this Council had.

48. For whereas there had bene a false Synode that, *clam & latenter*, priuily and in corners before, in the which certaine Bishoppes had vpon their owne priuate and Schismatical opinion, decreed against holy Images, many of the same Bishops being afterward better instructed, went from that their error, and in the Seuenth Council were againe reconciled to the Church. As Basilus, the Bishoppe of Ancyra, Theodorus, the Bishoppe of Myron, Theodosius, the B. of Amorium, Hypatius, the B. of Nice, Leo B. of Rhodes, Gregorie, B. of Pisidia, an other Gregorie, B. of Pessinuntum, an other Leo, B. of Iconium, Nicolas, B. of Hierapolis, and an other Leo, B. of Carpath, and Gregorius Bishoppe of Cæsarea.

49. All these recanted in that one Council, confessing that they erred through ignorance, and that they were returned to the truth by the Doctrine of the Apostles, and of the Fathers.

Nicem.
Con. Act.
1. fol. 465.
& 467.

Conc. Nic.
2. Act. 1.

50. Gregorius of Cefarea repenting after the first Action was ended, in the second Action 2. fol. 479. *Quandoquidem vniuersus iste cœtus idem sentit, didici & instructus sum, quod hac sit veritas quæ nunc existimatur & predicatur.* For so much as this whole companie, doe both speak and iudge one & the same thing, I haue learned and am instructed, that this which is now thought and vttered, is the truth.

51. If so many noble and reuerend Bishops were not ashamed to be instructed better, and to recant, specially when they saw aboue three hundred men so wise and learned, and vertuouse, to agree together: what doe we accompte that a childish companie or Councell (as M. Iewel vouchsafeth to call them) whose learning and consent, turned others from errour to the truth?

52. The question is, whether Images may be honoured. The Generall Councell bringeth forth, first the holy Scriptures, next the Auncient Canons, among the which there is one, yea two or three, in the sixth Generall Council, which speake laudably of honoring Images, and call them *Venerandas*, worthy of reuerence. Thirdly, they bring forth the practise and the iudgement of the Auncient Fathers. Last of all by consent of all the Patriarches, and Bishops they conclude, that holie Images ought to be honoured.

53. Who

53. Who now may iustlie pretend, that they followed not the Scriptures, seeinge the Scriptures had geuen them a higher authoritie to teach and feed Christes Sheepe, then any priuate man hath? For they coming together in the name and power of Christ, out of all Nations, doe represent the whole Catholique Church: euen as the Apostles and Priests at Ierusalem, did beare the person of all the Mysticall bodie of the Church. Math. 23.
Math. 18.
Act. 13.

54. Now Christ saith, *If any man heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an heathen and a Publicane.* The Church speaketh in those Reuerend Bishops and Fathers, and by them it expoundeth to vs, *that when God forbiddeth the making and worshipping of Images, he forbiddeth the Honour of Latria, which is due to God alone, to be geuen to Images.* And forbiddeth also the making of Idols, and of wanton or vile pictures called εἰκόματα, such as also the sixt Generall Councell doth forbid. Math. 18.
Note.
Can. 100.
But the Images of Christ, of our Ladie, of the Apostles, of Martyrs, Confessours and Virgins, are not forbidden to be made, or to be conueniently worshipped. Thus doth the Church tell vs in that and other Councils: Shall we heare it, or no? For my parte I say, *He that heareth it not, shall be vnto me as a Heathen and a Publicane.* Math. 18.

55. Let

All these
beleued as
the seuēth
Councell.

55. Let vs now adde hereunto, what notable men were about that time and after, who all reuerenced that Decree of the Seuenth Council, or if some of them were before, yet they are wel knownen to haue bene of the same mind. Their names are: *Germanus, Paulus, Tarasius*, Archbishoppes of Constantinople: *Beda, Ado, Haimo, Ionas Aurelianus, Damascanus, Theophylactus, Strabus, Anastasius, Bibliothecarius, Remigius, Theodorus Studites, Nicephorus, Photius, Procopius, Euthymius, Zonaras Balsamon, Sigibertus, Mezaphrastes, Lanfrancus, Anselmus, Algerus, Guimundus, S. Bernard, Iuo, Rupertus, Petrus Comestor, Gratian, Petrus Lombardus, Alexander de Hales, Hugo Cardinalis, Albertus Magnus, S. Thomas of Aquine, Bonauentura, Dionysius Carthusianus, Hugo and Richardus de Sancto Victore.*

Lateran.
Lugdun.
Viennen.
Constāti.
Florentin.
Tridentin.

56. What reckon I vp one by one? At the least six General Councils which followed after, beside many moe Prouinciall Councils, yea all the Popes of Rome, all the Bishoppes, Doctours, Pastours and Clergie, all the common people both of Greekes and Latines, Cities, Prouincies, Kingdomes, are knownen to haue reuerenced and obeyed that Seuenth General Council.

57. What like Authoritie can M. Iewel shew for his Opinion? Where are his Patriarches, his Bishoppes, his Councils, his Doctours,

Doctours, his Writers of Histories, and his Churches? Yea where are his Citties, his Prouinces, his Kingdomes? Now I know his common place, that this pompe of Names needeth not, and the time was barba-rous, Antichrist ruled, the flocke of Christ is a small company, and such other scapes, the which be as Heretical, as his Opinion is in condemning the Seuenth Councell.

58. If there be no way least vnto the Church to end Controuersies, we are worse then the Iewes, who had a liuing high Iudge among them, then the Romans, whose cheefe Pre-Deut. 17.tor or Lord Chauncelour, was the liuelie voice of the Ciuil Law, yea we are worse then any common weale in all the worlde: in euery of the which, there is a meane to know in this life, what must be at the length trusted vnto. Doubtlesse the Church of Christ can not be in worse case, then other common weales are.

59. If then there be an order in Christes common weale, whereby controuersies may be ended: if the order be so much the better, by how the Gouvernour is the wiser: certain-ly the iudge is not without a tongue, nor without a meane, to applie the Generall and indefinite Authoritie and rule of Gods word vnto the circumstances of the presente Con-
trouersie: nor vnable to conferre the holy
Scrip-

Scriptures together, nor he is not so contemptible, that when the sentence is geuen, it may be reuoked by priuate mens vsurping, and that because, *the Scriptures be not of Priuate interpretation.*

60. If any Supreme Iudge be in all the Church, when the Pope, the Patriarches, the Bishoppes, the Abbats, and Priours, and the learned Diuines be together, and when the Emperour, the Empresse, the Legats of Kingdomes, of free States, and of Christian Prouinces, asist them, if any Iudge, I say, be at all, if any Voice or speaking of the Church may be: in that, and such other assemblies, that Iudge, & that Voice must be found. And hauing once geuen sentence, that must be obeyed. Therefore he is without all peraduenture in the state of euerlasting damnation, who after the Seuenth Generall Councell hath defended, *that holy Images ought to be adored*, with such conuenient honour as is due to holy representations: that notwithstanding doth teach, write, defend, or thinke the contrarie,

That M. Iewel himselfe bringeth such reasons for
 Worshipping Bread and Wine, in the Sacra-
 ment of the Aultar, because he saith they are
 the Image of Christes Bodie and Bloud, as may
 right well serue for the Worshipping of all ho-
 lie Images.

THE XVI. CHAPTER.

1. **A**S nothing is more necessary to a
 Lyer, then to remember what he
 hath said before (that his tale may still agree
 with it selfe) so if he be a man full of words,
 nothing is more impossible to a Lyer, then
 to auoid contrarietie in his owne tale: be-
 cause many wordes detect many circumstan-
 ces, the which in a Lie, will not all stande
 together.

2. M. Iewel was so carefull to ridde away
 the duty of godly honour from the Sacra-
 ment of Christes Bodie and Bloud, that whi-
 les he would needes expound the wordes of
 Adoration (which the Fathers euery where
 attribute vnto the Sacrament of the Aultar)
 of such worshippe and reuerence, as may be-
 long to holy Signes and Images, and not of
 such as belongeth to Christes owne substan-
 ce: in the meane time he is constrained to
 graunt, that some kind of Adoration is due
 to

to creatures, as to bread and wine, in that respect as (by his doctrine) they are Images onely of Christes Bodie and Bloud. Whereby M. Iewel is againe fallen into a new trouble, how to saue him selfe from geuing worship to all holy Images, the which yet he hath hitherto denied vnto them.

3. All our writing hath bene these many yeeres, to trie who maketh the Lie in Religion: whether the Popish Catholiques, or els the new sprung Protestantes. I say, the Lie is made by the new sprung Protestantes, and that I proue, because their tale, to witte, their beliefe and doctrine, can by no means hang together.

4. Which thing to be so, as euery Argument that I may chaunce vpon doth easily shewe: so at this time writing of Images, I will declare his Doctrine to be disagreeable to it selfe in the matter of Images.

In his
Replie
fol. 475.

Iewel. The old Fathers in their Writtinges commonlie call the Sacrament a Representation, a Remembrance, a Memorie, an Image, a Likenes, a Samplar, a Token, a Signe, and a Figure.

Fol. 479.

Item in the eight Article he saith. Neither doe we onelie adore Christ, as verie God, but also worshippe and reuerence the Sacrament and holie mysterie of Christes Bodie.

5. Sander. Now say I, if the Sacrament be an Image, a Signe, or a Representation of Christes

Christes Bodie, and yet not his owne Bodie in substance (as the Sacramentaries teach) if also not only the Bodie of Christ it selfe, which is in Heauen, but the verie Sacrament and Image of Christes Bodie, be of M. Jewel and of his companions worshipped and reuerenced: therof it doth follow, that an Image of a holie thing, which is absent in substance, yet may be worshiped and reuerenced of the new Gospellers.

6. But the Images of Christ sufferinge death, and of S. Laurence laid vpon the gridiron, are Images of a holy thing which is absent in substance: therefore the Images of Christ and of S. Laurence, may be worshipped and reuerenced of the Protestants themselves. What can be answered to this reason, but only that Christes Sacraments are an other kind of Images then those be, which are painted and grauen by men?

7. In deede to vs they are a farre other kind of Images, becaule we teach the truth it selfe to be contained in the Sacraments, which is signified by them. For when it is said at the time of baptizing, *I baptize thee &c.* We say that then washing is both signified in word, and wrought in deede. But those that thincke the Sacraments neither to containe, nor to geue any grace, but only to signe and scale vp in the harts of the faithfull the benefite

Note.

fits otherwise geuen by Christe, they make the Sacraments to be only Signes and Images, and therefore I see not why they should stand so much vpon the difference that is betweene the holy Images, which are in the Sacraments, and those which are painted.

8. But yet I will now declare, that this reuerence and worship, which M. Iewel alloweth to some Images, is not only restrained to the Sacraments by his owne doctrine, but may be more largely taken. For he goeth forward to an other example in these words:

Iewel. We worship the word of God according to this counsel of Anastasius: Dominica verba attentè audiant & fideliter adorent. Let them diligently heare, and faithfully worship the wordes of God. Briefly we worship other like things, in such religiouse wise vnto Christ belonging.

De conf.
dist. 3. A.
postol.

9. Sander. Hitherto M. Iewel: to whole wordes I adde, that an Image representing Christs birth or death, is a like thing to Gods wordes, in such religiouse wise belonging vnto Christ: because it bringeth Christs death to our hart by the eye, as the wordes wherein his death is preached, doe bring the same death to our hart by the eare.

10. Neither is there any other difference, sauing that the eye is the higher and more worthy sense, and the Image serueth all men that can see (of what tonge or knowledge

foeuer

foeuer they be) but the words readd or preached, serue none but those, who vnderstand the tongue wherin they are pronounced, and not all those, if perhaps they be obscure, as most words of the Scripture are: therefore M. Iewel must as well worship the painted or grauen Image belonging to Christ, as he doth worship the words of the Gospell which belong to Christ.

Note.

11. Or will he diuide his worship, when the reason of worshipping is all one? Why doth he worship Christes words? Him selte saith, *because they belong to Christ in a religiouse wise*. Looke then how large your cause of worshipping is, so large must your worship be. But Christes owne Image belongeth to him in a religiouse wise (for it is a guise of Religion agreeable to the Law of Nature, and receaued in the very Primitiue Church which maketh vs to set vp Christes Image) therefore Christes Image is to be worshipped by the force of M. Iewels doctrine.

Note.

Euseb. li.
7. cap. 13.

Iewel. Doubtesse it is our dutie, to adore the bodie of Christ in the Word of God, in the Sacrament of Baptisme, in the mysteries of Christes bodie and Blood, and where soeuer wee see any step or token of it.

fol. 404.

12. Sander. I adde hereunto: *We see a steppe and token of Christes body, When we see his Image painted or grauen: for the painted or grauen*

S

uen

uen Image of a thing, is a token and steppe at the left of that thing: therefore by M. Iewels doctrine, it is our dutie to adore Christes body in the painted Image thereof.

13. Yea farther: A steppe is much lesse, then an Image. For a steppe is only a token of the foote, whereas the Image is a token of the whole bodily shape. But M. Iewel confesseth, that euen in any steppe or token of Christes body, his bodie ought to be of dutie adored: therefore M. Iewel by right reason must confesse, that much more in the whole Image and shape of Christes body, his body ought to be adored.

14. Neither can M. Iewel and all his brethren euer auoid this argument. *Wherefoeuer we see any steppe or token of Christes body, it is our dutie to adore Christes body therein.* These are M. Iewels owne words. But in Christes painted Image we see at the least a steppe and token of Christes body: therefore it is our dutie, to adore Christes body in a painted Image.

Note.

15. Note Masters, what M. Iewel must now say: either he must deny Christs painted Image to be the steppe or token of his body (and then how is that the Image of his body, which is not so much as a steppe of his body) or els he must graunt, that it is our duty to adore Christes body in his painted Image.

Now

Now that can not be done, except Christes body be some way or other, in his painted Image. For that thing can not be adored in the Image, which at all is not there.

16. If Christes body be in his painted Image by any meane (as in deede it is there by the like shape thereof) then he that destroyeth or pulleth downe Christes painted Image, destroyeth or pulleth downe that thing, wherein (by M. Iewels doctrine) it was his duty, to haue adored Christes body. But that must needes be a filthy, an impious, and an vnnatural deede, to pull downe that, wherein he ought of duty to haue adored Christes body: therefore, seing by M. Iewels doctrine preached and practised in Sarisburie Diocese, the painted Image of Christ ought to be pulled downe and destroyed: by his doctrine also, a filthy, and impious, and an vnnaturall deede ought to be committed.

Note.

17. How is it then possible, to reconcile these two propositions? *It is our duty to adore Christes body, wheresoeuer any steppe or token is of it: and, it is also our duty, to pull downe and to destroy Christes painted or grauen image, wherein a step and token of Christes body must needes be.* And so by M. Iewels doctrine, it is our duty to adore Christes body in that selfe painted Image, the which painted Image it is our duty to pull downe and to destroy.

Kol. 409.

Moreouer M. Iewel saith in an other place,

Iewel. The Sacraments in this sort are the flesh of Christ, and are so vnderstoode and beleueed, and adored. But the whole honour resteth not in them, but is passed ouer from them to the things that be signified.

18. *Sander.* Marke wel M. Iewels words: for by the selfe same reason, we reuerence, worship or adore holy Images, yet so, that the whole honour resteth not in them, but is passed ouer from the, to the things that be signified. And therefore as M. Iewel doth honour the Sacrament without daunger of Idolatry, so doe we honour holy Images, without feare of committing Idolatry.

19. But this about all is to be noted, M. Iewel doth not geue to the Sacrament of Christes supper any honour at all, for that he is desirous to haue it honoured, but only he alloweth it such honour as is due to an Image, to the end he may therby take away the greater honour of *Latria*, which the Catholicks doe worthely geue vnto it. For if he were disposed to honour it in deede as an Image, he would honour other holy Images also. But now whereas he denieth any honor at all to be due to other holy Images: Yet he geueth the honour of an Image to the body of Christ, in the Sacrament, not because he delighteth in honouring that Image, or any
other

other Image, but because he is sure, that if the Sacrament may be honoured only as an Image, then it shall not be honoured as the thing it selfe.

20. Howbeit he is deceaved even in that point also. For whereas there are two kind of Images, one which is the Image of the outward shape: an other which is the Image of the inward nature and substance: for as much as the Sacrament of the Altar, is not an Image of Christes personall outward shape, but of his body and blood, which are the names of his nature and substance: And seeing there is no Image of nature (as I shewed before) beside that wherein the selfe same nature is, which was in the first paterne: it is cleere, that the Sacrament of Christes supper, being called by the name of Christes natural body, is an Image of Christes natural substance, and therefore the honour of a natural Image (and not only of an Artificial Image) is due to it. This point were worthy to be prosecuted, if it were not somewhat beside our purpose.

In the 6th
chapt.

21. An other thing that I intend to burden M. Iewel withall in this argument, are his own words in the first Article where he saith.

Iewel. The very names of the old godly Fathers, are worthy of much honour.

In his
Reply.

22. *Sander. I adde, that the names of the old*

fol. 82.

godly Fathers are attributed to their Images. For the Images of S. Augustine, and of S. Hierome are commonly called S. Augustine, and S. Hierome: therefore their Images are, by M. Iewels owne confession, worthy of much honour. For if the very names of the olde godly Fathers be worthy of much honour, wheresoeuer their names be, there is that which is worthy of much honour. Seing the their names be in their Images, their Images (at the least for that very cause) are worthy of much honour.

23. Here it is to be noted, that whereas the Images of the Saints are called by their names, that thing cometh not only to passe through the meere ambiguitie of the word (as when it chanceth sometime a priuate man to be surnamed King, who in deede is not in any point a King) but the Images are called by the names of the thinges them selues, because they belong to them, following and imitating their shape and likenes, and hauing somewhat in them agreeable to that person, whereof they take the name: In so much that the very cheefe nature of an Image is, to belike vnto that thing, which it goeth about to expresse. And it is made altogether with this intent from the beginning to be his Image, whose shape it representeth.

24. Therefore seing the names of the old
godly

godly Fathers come to their Images, not by chaunce, *but vpon determinate purpose and counsell*, neither without cause, *but for the likenes of shape which is in them*: there is some true cause in Images, why they may be called by the names of the old godly Fathers, and consequently there is some true cause, why they should be worthy of honour, and that (if M. Iewel say well) *of much honour.*

25. Last of all leauing M. Iewels owne M. Iewels
deedes. words (whereof we haue said sufficiently) let vs come also vnto his deedes. What shall we say that in the selfe same Reply which he made against D. Harding, and wherein he burdeneth him, as though, whereas God had said, thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image, yet D. Harding should say, *thou shalt make to thy selfe grauen Images*: What shall we now say, if in that Reply M. Iewel hath often times grauen Images: Yea such Images, as are in deede wanton, filthie and vn honest? Looke he that listeth at the end of M. Iewels Answer to D. Hardings Preface. And at the end of the xix. xxij. and xxv. Article. There and in other places he shall find, *a grauen Image in M. Iewels booke*: And that such a one, as is meete for a brother, I warrant you.

26. That I may not speake of the Antiques and Gorgons heads which be there Idols in
M. Iewels
bookes, which are Idols, because they haue no truth

extant in the nature of thinges) in the places before named a desperate naked boye is sette forth in such sort, that an honest man would goe backward and couer it with his cloke.

27. This Image was grauen in wood, or in some like matter, before it could be printed. And M. Iewel had the ouer sight of the print him selfe . Neither did it fall out by chaunce, that such a foule Image escaped him. For if the Printer had brought him the blessed signe of Christs manhood spread vpon the Crosse, he would haue espied it out of hand: Yea, he would haue stormed at him not a litle, and haue caused him to haue amended the same as a great fault.

28. But now when a bawdie Image was prostituted to the Readers eye, the which might prouoke him to vncleane thoughts, that Image, though it were grauen first in wood, and afterward sette forth in white and black: Yet it pleased him right wel, and was lette to stand still.

29. O the iudgements of God! He that hath pulled downe Christes Image, and the Signe of his healthful Crosse in all Churches and Chapels where he might come, now setteth forth vnto vs a most bawdy spectacle, & thincketh he hath done wel inough.

30. I can not tel (M. Iewel) whether you being aduisedly asked hereof, would haue
said

said in plaine wordes, that this foule Image were to be preferred before Christes picture, or no. But surely in that you were so blind in your deedes, as not to see and to consider this abhominable Image, whereas you looked so exactly to the printing of your booke, and wold so quickly haue found fault with a good Image, that is an argument, that you are geuen ouer to a lewde mind, and are void of all grace, as one who speaketh against good Images, and in his fact permitte[n]th nawghty representations: as though God had only forbidden the good Images to be made, and had only allowed the euil.

Rom. 1.

Exo. 20.

31. The sixth General Councel, was of a farre diuerse mind. For it thought, that the Images of Christ and of his Crosse, ought to be allowed, and that bawdy Images ought to be forbidden. Whereof the Fathers decreed after this sort. *Facile sensus corporei, quæ sua sunt, in animam deriuant &c.* the senses of the body do quickly bring vnto the minde those things, which belong vnto them: therefore we do decree, that hereafter by no meanes there shall be painted any Images in tables, or otherwise sette forth, that shall bewitch (or allure the eyes to euil) or corrupt the mind, or inflame it to filthy pleasures. If any man shall doe this hereafter, lette him be accursed, or be excommunicated.

Can. 82.

Can. 73.

Can. 106.

32. I beseeche our Lord at the length to touche some Protestants harts in such sort, that he well returning to himselfe, may account it better, humbly to behold the Image of Christ crucified with the Catholickes: then with the Sacramentaries, first to deface Christes Image, and afterward to sette forth other filthy Images meter for cōmon stewes, then for bookes which intreat of Religion.

33. God graunt also, that some few at the least may perceauē, how maruelously these men are forsaken of God. Who wheras they would seeme to correct our faults, and to be right holy in their wordes: yet they are so without grace in their deedes, that both they them selues and other may well perceauē, that in very deede they preferre any thing, be it neuer so vile, before Christ, in that they preferre any vile Image before his Image. For the same proportion that is betweene Image and Image, is betweene thing and thing.

34. But Christs Image is throwen downe, and a bawdie Image is sette forth: Therefore bawdinesse is more esteemed with them in truth, then Christ himselfe.

35. Awake awake good Countrie men, and see that which can not be hidden. See and iudge. Iudge, and amend. Christ is in the lippes, but if he were in the hart, a zeale so seruēt would be raised in him, who weighed
this

this matter as it ought to be weighed, that
 he would beleue: If euer the arte of pain-
 ting or of grauing were worthy to be suf-
 fered in any common weale, it should special-
 lie be suffered for Christes sake, and be ap-
 plied to the honour of Christ and his Saints.
 For if those arts did not vse to serue the ho-
 nour of noble men, euery man would not
 make such haste to haue his owne, and his
 friends Image painted or grauen.

36. But seeing all the worlde accompt it
 gloriousse to haue their Images made, for
 Gods loue lette that poore man Iesus Christ
 be thought worthy of one place among you.
 And lette his Images also be allowed, if not
 as wel as other Noble mens Images, yet at
 the least as well as the Images of the meaner
 sort. Or at the vttermost, let not Christes
 Image be accompted more vnlawfull, then
 such bawdie Images, as M. Iewel hath com-
 mended to vs in his Replie.

*Whether it be profitable or no, to haue Images
 set vp in Churches, and to permitte them
 to be worshipped.*

THE XVII. CHAPTER.

1. **S**ome that haue thought it no vnlaw-
 full thing to make Images, nor vterly
 vn-

vnlawful to geue some reuerence vnto them, yet haue thought it vnmeete, to haue them commonly sette vp in Churches, least the ignorant people might perhaps be drawen therby vnto Idolatry, or to superfluous worshippinge of outward and visibler things.

Ioan. 4. Whereas God being a spirit, should be worshipped in spirit and truth: In which point Master Iewel is quicke and peremptory.

In his
Reply.
Fol. 17.

Falsified.

Iewel. The best remedy in this behalfe, and most agreeable with Gods worde, is, vtterly to abolish the cause of the euil. So Ezechias brake in pieces the brasen serpent, Epiphanius rent in sunder the painted veile, Theodozius commaunded the Image of our Saviour to be taken downe, wherefore it should be found.

* in the 3.
chapt.
* in the 4.
chaptre
which by
an errour
of the print
is called
also the 3.
Fol. 28 b.
29. a. b.

2. Sander. Of * Ezechias, and of * Epiphanius, I spake in their due places. Yet this much I thought good to adde in this place, affirming M. Iewel to be ouerthrowen by his owne example. For as Ezechias threw not downe all Images, for the abuse which was committed about one, no more may M. Iewel vtterly abolish all Images from our Churches, though some one be abused. But as Ezechias least the Cherubins in the Holy of Holies, as he suffered the Altars in the Temple, yea the Temple it selfe to stand (which was made to be an obscure Image and shadow of Christ the true Altar and true

Tem-

Temple): So that one Image being broken which happened to be abused, all the rest of our Images ought to stand still in our Churches, and to be conueniently worshipped, because they represent honourable Verities and Truthes.

3. The Law of Theodosius is misreported, and misenglisht: Misreported, because it was meant by him, that such honour was due to the Signe of our Sauour (which is the Signe of the Crosse) that he would in no wise haue it painted, or graued on the ground, lest by treading on it, dishonor should be done thereunto. The wordes of which law alleaged before out of the Code of Iustinian, where that law was safely preserved aboue these thousand yeeres, in the sight of all the world. And that is a meeter testimonie to assure our selues of, then that which Trinitus reciteth imperfectly, I can not tell whence, but (as it maie be thought) out of some blinde copie vntruly written, and yet Trinitus doth not write the contrary of that which is in the Ciuil Law, but only he hath left out the word *humis*, vpon the ground.

4. Againe, M. Iewel hath erred, or at the least wold make others to erre by englissing, *id est*, to be taken downe, where as in that place it signifieth to be taken vp. For the Emperours meaning was, that wheresoeuer the
 Signe

In Cod.
Iust lib. 1.
Tit. 11.

In the
Chapter
where I
spake of
the signe
of the
Crosse.

Signe of our Sauour was found painted on grauen vnder mens feete, it should be taken vp, and saued from treading on.

5. The which thing wil appeere the more evidently, if we consider that the sixth Generall Councel decreed the same thing, saying: *Crucis figuras quæ à nonnullis in solo pavimento sunt, omnino deleri iubemus*. We commaund the figures of the Crosse (which are made of some men in the ground and in the pavement) to be vtterly taken away, or to be put out.

6. If the Councell had staid here, it had seemed a text alone for M. Iewel. But the cause of that Decree followeth, *ne incidentium conculcatione victoria nobis trophaeum iniuria afficiatur*. Least the triumphant signe of the conquest (gotten for vs) should be iniured by their treading vpon it, who should walke vp and downe. And yet farther, the same decree confesseth the Fathers of that Councell, *tribuere adorationem viuifica Crucis & mente, & sermone, & sensu*. To geue the honor of adoration to the Crosse (of Christ) which causeth vs to liue (a spirituall life) both in mind, in word, and in vnderstanding.

7. And therefore witnessing that their adoration by an outward Decree, they will haue no signe or figure of the Crosse to be made or suffered vpon the ground, least iniury be

done

done to it, while it is trod vpon. And the very same meaning had those Emperours, whom M. Iewel, according to his liuing spirit, maketh to commaund the signe or the Image of our Sauour to be taken downe: whereas they commaunded it to be taken vp, for the honour they gaue vnto it. But taking vp, is taking downe with him, to whome vp is downe, white is blacke, and good is euill.

8. Here also it is to be noted, that Master Iewel englisheth *Signum Saluatoris*, the Image of our Sauour, notwithstanding he had denied before, that the Signe of the Crosse (which is the Signe of our Sauour) was an Image. Thus it is by his iudgement both an Image, and no Image.

In his
Reply.
fol. 302,

9. That order which the Councell of Ments taketh for altering or taking away of Images which be abused, is misliked of no man. But our question is generally of all Images: *Whether it be expedient to permit Images to be worshipped, or no.* For now I take it proued and graunted, that Images may both be made, and reuerenced, according to the desert of the thing represented. And if all men knew all things and were perfit, I thinke fewe would dout, but that Images might be permitted to be worshipped: but men being as they be, the question is vniuersally concealed,

The present
question.

ceased, whether it were good to permit the worshipping of Images in publick Churches, or no.

10. In the which question, we must consider, on the one side the daunger of Idolatry, or of superfluous worship, and also the ignorance of the people : on the other side, the truth of our faith, and the profit which cometh by Images. And according as the causes doe most vehemently presse vs, thereafter we must be ruled.

11. I say and doubt nothing thereof, *that it is much better to permitte the worshipping of holy representations, and Images in Churches,* then to imbarre altogether the same, by taking away Images. For herein standeth the point of the question, as now the new Gospellers make it. They, to take away the occasion of worshipping Images, would haue no Images at all sette vp in the Churches. We, albeit we sett not vp Images principally to be worshipped, nor to be worshipped at all for their owne sakes, yet seeing a certaine worship may lawfully be geuen to them for the truthe sake which they signifie, we iudge it much better, to let them be worshipped (teaching the people what worshipping is due to them) then wholly to abolish the great profit which cometh by Images.

12. And surely if in comparision of the danger

danger of Idolatrie (which is little or none at all) the profite be certain and evident, euen as, for the abuse which is daily committed about the holy Scriptures, we doe not vtterlie take away and abolish the holy Scriptures: euen so the particular abuse of any one Image, or of some few, should neuer moue vs to remoue all Images from our Churches.

13. Now it remaineth, that I must proue this danger of Idolatrie to be smale, or not to be such as ought to be esteemed, and the profite of images to be so great, that it ought to be of great estimation.

14. In euery question which shalbe circumspcctly handled, the particular circumstances must be respected of the men, of the time, or place, and of the thing it selfe. Concerning our question, I must consider the state of the Church at this present, not busying my selfe with that which is past, or is to come. For the state of the Church might haue bene otherwise in the old time, and may be otherwise hereafter, and then other men heretofore might, and hereafter maie, geue an other iudgment in this very matter, whereof I speake presently.

15. But surely if euer time were, when images might be permitted to be reuerenced and honored, this is it. For now, although all the Catholikes in Christendom held their

peace, which yet they do not, the deedes and doctrine of the new Gospellers against images are so wel knowen, & so spread throughout all places, that it is not lightly possible for the people to be deceaued in honouring images to much. Yea rather it is daily seene, that many honour them neuer a whitte, and beginne plainlie to contemne them. And those which remaine good, haue yet alwaies a certaine feare of their deedes, for so much as they know them selues to be reprov'd in that behalfe.

2.

16. Besides this, when the time was most quiet, he that should see the Sexten sweping copwebbes from them, and the Parish Clerke putting the Crosse so homly vnder his cloke, vntill he came where it were to be set vpon the banner, might well perceauē a great difference between that meane reuerēce which was geuen to images, in comparison of that which both was geuen, and was due to the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Aultar.

17. If then the people were neuer to much bent, and now be so little bent to reuerence images, shall we now helpe forward their ignorance, and hasten them to errour? Againē, when the question is, not only concerning the facte or deede, but also concerninge the Law and right, if the one of the twaine must
needes

needes be defaced, it is lesse euill, to suffer some one to doe amisse, then to falsifie the whole Law and right it selfe.

18. That images may be made and permitted, it is the Law of Nations, and therefore vndoubtedly a certaine principall ordinance, and Law of God. Likewise, that such Images as represent a truth worthy of honour, are in that respect to be regarded and in some part honoured, it is a truth of the Law of Nature, and also of Gods Law as it hath bene proued before.

19. This Law then and this right of Gods truth being generall in it selfe, ought not to be hindred or stopped, although it chaunce that one or twaine take hurt by the misse thereof: sithens it is worse, that Gods Law should be in daunger to be pronounced wrōgfull and false, then that some one man should be deceaued. For if Images should be forbidden generally to be worshipped, the matter would shortly grow to this opinion, that Images may not be worshipped at all, which is an errour in doctrine.

20. When the faith and intent of him that worshippeth the Image is good, as when he mindeth to worship only one God, and to shew his good affectiō to his glorious Saints, what so euer is done with this minde (so that Sacrifice be not made to Images) it can be no

That the daunger of idolatry is not great.

Idolatrie. And therefore the daunger of idolatrie is not great. For none of the common people can make externall Sacrifice. And inward Sacrifice to the Image they doe not make, if they be of this minde, to beleue one God, and to honour his Saintes, but as his friendes and seruants.

21. And surely, if it would please any noble man in England to examine a thousand poore men, *and to geue them no captious question of purpose* (as some maliciously doe) he shall find them all of this mind to beleue and worshippe onely the blessed Trinitie as one God, and all others as seruants to him. And for Priestes, who make the publique Sacrifice, it is certaine that they neither doe make any Sacrifice to Images, nor can doe it, because the rule and Canon of their Massebooke, doth direct them to make their Sacrifice to God alone. If men were of good conscience, and woulde rest in the truth, these reasons might shew vnto them sufficientlie, that the danger of Idolatrie is not great. For no outward act is so properlie belonging to God (beside externall Sacrifice) but the same may be done to other things, without any danger of Idolatrie. And therefore although the people doe kneele before an Image (as they also doe before Princes) or doe put off their cappes, or doe light a candle

per or candle before them, *shewing the Saintes to be those lights whose workes doe shine before men, that God in heauen may be glorified:* Math 5.
 If all this while they be of this mind, to acknowledge but one God, there is no Idolatrie committed.

22. And that thing (to say, that there is but one God) we preach, they protest dailie in their belife, and keepe in their hart, if they be not vtterly become Infidels, of whom we now speake not, but onely we say, that there is no sufficient feare of Idolatry, among faithfull Christians, for which Images ought to be vtterlie abolished.

23. In this behalfe, I can but offer the choise to M. Iewel, or to any other of his brethren: *asking them whether they wil haue the Christian people considered as of a good and strong faith, and as freemen from all idolatrie (wherevnto Christ hath redeemed them) or els, as weake and fraile, which may be quickly seduced and easily caried away from the truth.* If he consider the Christian people as of a good faith, and as deliuered by Christ from all Idolatry: then seing there is in them no iust feare of idolatry, the Images of Saints may be lawfullie worshipped, because the worshippers be safe.

24. If they will consider the Christians as weake and fraile, & make them like vnto the

old Iewes and Painims, they surely do great iniurie to Christ, who promised to be merciful to their sinnes, and to deliuer them from Babylon, Ægypt, Idumæa, and to be short, from all the Idols and abuses of the Gentils. The which promise was fulfilled by Christ, causing the Idols to be first throwen out of their hearts, and afterward out of the Temples of all Nations.

Iere. 31.
Heb. 8.

25. *Ero illis in Deum* (saith God) & *ipsi erunt mihi in populum*. I will be to them for (their) God, and they shalbe to me for (my) people. That is to say; I will be to them, not only their God, but also my purpose and intent is so to be their God, as to be and to continue the last end of all their affiance. And they shall so be my people, that I will haue none other for my people. For this phrase *in Deum*, and *in populum*, doth signifie a being to the end, without change or reuocation.

Math. 5.

26. As then the Church of God was prophecied to be one ouer all the world, and affirmed of Christ to be a citie built vpon a hill, *which can not be hidden*, so that notable and famous company of Christians, whom the Turks, Saracens, and Tartarians haue alwaies knowen: that knowe multitude which euermore from the time that they haue had Churches haue set vp Images in them, that multitude, I say, compared for its number to the dust

dust of the earth, and to the sand of the sea (which consisteth of rude and ignorant persons for the most part) must of necessitie continue the people of God, and he must continue their God, because the word of God can not faile.

27. If then these Christians which haue alwaies liued in Grece, in Italie, in Spaine and in such other places, haue the promise to be Gods people: seeing they haue had Images in their Churches, and haue had them in great price, as it is proued before: it can not be, that these images should become Idols. For they that honor Idols are no more Gods people.

28. And verely although the wordes that follow in Ieremie, and in S. Paule, be true many waies, yet I thinke certainly they are truer no one other way, then in this, that the Christians shall neuer againe become Idolatours. For thus it is written: *And euery man shall not teach his neighbour, nor euery man his brother, saying. Know the Lord: because all men shall know me from the lesser of them to the greater, because I will be mercifull to their iniquities, and I will not now remember their sinnes.*

Ierem. 31.

Heb. 8.

Math. 28.

29. Behold, whereas many things neede to be taught, yet this one thing is so warranted by God him selfe, that no man shal neede to say to his neighbour, *Cognosce Dominum,*

Know the Lord. For God him selfe taketh this charge vpon him, to prouide that euery brother, to wite, euery Christian shall be taught by God himselfe, that God is his Lord, and that he shall neither haue, nor worship any other God.

Act. 7.

Mat. 19.

30. He therefore that now iudgeth Gods people to be as prone to idolatry as the Iewes were, and therefore will haue them to make no images, or to worship rather obscure and darke shadowes, as the Iewes did in their Holy of Holies, then plaine and euident images, as we now doe, he is iniuriouse to Christes grace, and contumeliouse to his blood, and perfidiouse in denying the performance of his promise. The Iewes were kept from euident and expresse images, because they were either harde harted, or meticulouse and scrupulouse. And therefore the vse and libertie of the Law of Nature, was in some parte barred them by Gods owne law, both in certain meates, and in the vse of images: and the libel of diuorse was winked at in them. But it were dishonorable to Christes people, not to be so deliuered from the bondage of sinne, as to be able to professe euery parte of the Law of Nature freely and boldly: notwithstanding that we are also ready to be restrained from certaine meates vpon obedience, but not as from things which we may not

at all take: as (for example) when either we be iustly dispensed withal, or when the Law is changed. For such lawes as are made by men, may be changed by men of the same authoritie.

31. Seing then it is the Law of Nature, to honour vertuouse men, by setting vp Images to them, we may do that thing freely now, and ought not to stay from it vpon the pretense of fearing Idolatry. On the other side, if needes we shall respect the Christian people as somewhat weake and apt to fall into Idolatry, yet I pray thee (good Reader) to attend this one reason, I say, the best way or meane to stay faithfull men from Idolatry, is to lette them haue, and conueniently to honour the Images of honorable personages.

32. For as God permitted the Iewes being in deede prone to Idolatry, to offer vp to him oxen, calues, lambes, goates, wheaten meale, loaves, wine, not that he needed them, or that these thinges pleased him so much, but because they should be occupied in serving him, and because seing they would needes offer some externall Sacrifice, they might haue a meane to do it vertuously and honestlie: euen so now God permitteth the Christian people to haue and to worship the Images of heauenly truthes, not that he needeth
such

such worship (who needeth of vs none at all) nor that he is so much pleased with the honoring of Images, but that the people may haue, wherewith to intertaine it selfe ver-
tuously, and honestly.

33. And so much the more Images are now permitted, because it is not lawfull for anie other externall Sacrifice to be offered, beside that Bodie which was geuen for vs, and that blood which was shedde for vs, the which they only maie offer externallie, to whom Christ gaue externall power by his external
v. Ioan, 2. wordes, *to make that thing, which, where-soeuer it be, is the Propitiation for the Sinnes of the whole worlde.* And where-soeuer it is made, there is made the Propitiatorie Sacrifice for mankind (concerning the substance which is consecrated) albeit the acte of death be no more repeated.

34. So that, for asmuch as the people haue not that multitudes of Sacrifices, which once the Iewes had (if they were still weake) it might be permitted to them, to haue good and Godly remembrances of Christs death vpon the Crosse (which was the onelie Propitiatorie sacrificing of him selfe) and of the death of his Apostles and Martyrs, who Sacrificed their owne will and bodies to his will, by suffering death according to his example.

35. But

35. But verily Images are not so much permitted to Christians for their weakenes, as for their strength. For therein Gods promise and strength is glorified in that the same people which once committed spiritual Fornication with so many stockes and Stones, now is through Christ so stronge, that it doth no such thing. And that not only by providing to haue no Images at all (for that were a pusillanimitie) but by hauing & worshipping such Images, as do represent a thing worthy of worship. *Moreouer seing the true worshipping of God consisteth in spirit and truth* (as Christ hath taught vs) when that which is outwardlie scene, doth leade vs to that which is true and spirituall, there is a great helpe obtained by the outward sight, to our spirituall deuotion. For as when we see creatures which prouoke vs to euill (as harlots doe) we are bound to abstaine from the sight of them as nigh as may be: euen so when a creature cometh in our way which was made to prouoke vs to good (as all our images are) we are bound by naturall reason, to apprehend by that visible helpe of our inward deuotion.

Ioan. 4.

Note.

36. We must not therefore applie the text of Christ, *true worshippers adore the Father in spirit and truth*, against holy outward representations, the which helpe our spirit, but against

gainst Idols, and against the bondage of praying after one certaine corporall fashion, the which is not at all times profitable. But as it is euer good, to heare the word of God corporally preached: so is it euer good to see holie and godly images of heavenly thinges, as of Christ rising from death, ascending into heaven, or comming againe to iudgement. And enery man who intendeth perfily to amend his naughty life, hath now more neede to prouide, that he may haue a good remembrance alwaies before his eyes, then he was carefull before to haue his harlot, or his vaine apparrell in his owne eye. But they that can see our Images to be Idols (as they think) are most of them such, as make no conscience at all, *even after the vow of chastitie*, to see their Concubins, and Harlots daily about them. So they feare where no feare was, and there be desperate, where all the feare ought to haue bene.

37. I haue bene longer in this argument, then I minded. I will briefly recite the commodity, which cometh to vs by holy Images.

1. 38. The first is, in that we learne thereby some thinges, which we knewe not before

2. 39. The second, because other thinges, which we knew before, we do remember.

3. 40. The third, because we doe not onlie remember them (as by reading, or by repeating)

ting) but by the most speedie twinckling of the eye.

41. By seeing and knowing, we are provoked to become like those men, whose Images we behould with reuerence and estimation.

42. We are confirmed in our Faith, perceiving these things, which are painted before our eyes to be so true, that euerie where they are openly sette forth and honoured.

43. We are kept well occupied, and deliuered from occasion to imagine idle things of our owne phantastical deuising, the which might in deede cause Idolatrie.

44. We tarie more willingly in the house of God, which is so adorned with Godly Histories.

45. We consider the companie of heauen, how marueilouse it is. For as the Holie of Holies being decked with the Images of Angels, did (by S. Pauls interpretation) signifie Heauen to the Iewes: so must our Churches be decked with the Images of Angels, and Saintes, that they may be to vs a Figure of euerlasting Glorie.

46. We pray to Christ at the sight of his Image, and we likewise desire our Ladie, or the Apostles, or Virgins to praie for vs, at the sight of their Images.

47. We honour God in his Saints, and in the

the very signes & monumentes of his Saints.

48. Also we glorify God in that we are so free and strong in our faith, that we need not be kept from conuenient worshiping of laudable Images, as the weake Iewes were.

12.

49. Last of all we professe the truth of the Gospell, and of the Law of Nature, which requireth conuenient honor to be geuen to the Images of honorable personages.

50. Thus the peril of Idolatrie being litle, or none at all, and the profit of Images being great: it must needes be profitable to permitte the people to honour Godly representations and Images in our open Churches.

Whether the same Degree of honour be due to the Images of Christ, or of his Saints, which is due to Christ, and to the Saints them selues.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

In his
Replie
fol. 516.

x. **T**His point is in controuersie between the Catholiques them selues, and therewith M. Iewel burdeneth vs not a litle. For he saith, some Schoolemen would haue the Crosse, and Images of Christ honoured with *latria*, that is, with godly honor: others would haue them honoured with *doulia*, that is, with an honor wherwith creatures may be serued. The matter in deede is very hard,

as the which consisteth rather in subtile points of Philosophy, not yet decided by the church, then in any dissention of wils or mindes in matters of Diuinitie.

2. First, all the Diuines agree, that in an Artificial Image we may consider three things: either the matter of the Image (as the wood, stone, or siluer) or els the outward forme (as the painted colours, or proportion of the Image) or els the representation which it makerh.

3. Concerning the matter of the Image, they all agree, that it is not by any meanes worthy of any honor at all, because it is a thing without life and reason. The like maie be saied concerning the colour or good Proportion of the Partes. For they also are worthe of no Honour belonging to Religion. Albeit perhappes a worldly man maie naturallie esteem the Arte of the Painter or of the grauer, but that is not any honor of Religion, whereof we now speake.

4. But if any Image be made to resemble a person, who is worthy of euerlasting honor with God in heauen: all the learned writers agree, *that the said resemblance of such an honorable Personage, deserueth some kinde of honor pertaining to true Religion.* Therefore in these three points we al agree. And because we do agree in them, those that disagree from
 Herein the Catholikes agree.

their and our Auncestours and Forefathers in this behalfe, can not be excused from Schisme, nor yet from Heresie, if they will stubbornely defend their falle opinion.

5. In the point that now foloweth, if we disagree, we require not you (M. Iewel) to take this or that side, but we say you are bound to agree with the vniuersall Church, in that respect, as the faith of it is vniuersall. And it is vniuersall in affirming, that some honor is due to all holy Images.

The doubt. 6. Wel, what is the Fourth point, wherein some Catholiques disagree? It standeth herein, to knowe, by what speciall meanes an Image, as an Image, doth represent the truth which it signifieth vnto vs. For either the Image may sende vs from it selfe, and referre vs ouer to the truth, and also it is considered apart from the truth, and so it is honored in a lower degree then the truth: or els the truth and the Image may meete together in his minde, who in the Image beholdeth the truth, and at the same time with the truth honoreth the Image. And in that case, the Image and the truth be as one thing, and so the same honor seemeth to be due to the Image, which is due to the Truth.

7. Both these opinions in diuerse considerations may chaunce to be true, and therefore perhaps there is no such dissension be-

tweene

tweene the Scholemē, as to some it appeareth.

8. And surely in this question (wherin the Church hath as yet defined neither part) any man may speake his owne coniecture: and I wish hartely, that M. Iewel had spent his witte and learning, rather in trying out such controuerfies, as, without danger may be concluded this way, or that way, wherein only the Schoole men dissented) then with the euident destruction of his owne soule, and of all that follow him, to trie his wit and learning in vndoing that, which Christ, the Apostles, and the whole Church, haue bene a building vp so many hundred yeeres. But let vs returne to that purpose.

9. It is a thing most cleere, that as soone as euer I vnderstand whose figure and Image that is, which is before mine eyes, immediatlie the person him selfe cometh to my minde, and that so sodainly, that, the knowledge of the Image, and of the thinge whose Image, it is, make but one knowledge. For I vnderstand not one after the other, but both together. In so much that vntil I vnderstand somewhat of the truth, I can not vnderstand any particular thing of the Image. For if I see an Image, and can not coniecture by any outward token whose Image it is, well I may know it to be the Image of a man, because it beareth the shape of a man, or the Image of a

Saint, because it standeth in the Church, and so as I know the image generally, I know the truth therof generally. But I can not determine or specially restraine the image to this or to that man, or to this or to that Saint, except I first know, that it belongeth to S. Peter, or to S. Paul, or to some like person.

10. If then the Image be not particularly knowen, without some foreknowledge of the truth, it is not possible that the Image (as any particular mans Image) should be in my mind or vnderstanding, before that self thing be there, whose Image it is: The Image in deede may be in mine eye, and consequently it may be offered to my vnderstanding, before that I thincke actually of the thing represented. But when so euer I know this or that to be Christes Image, I haue Christ in my vnderstanding rather before the Image be knowen to be his, then after. For I conferre and compare the Image offered to me, with that which I haue reade or heard of Christ, and when I find them to agree, I conclude this to be Christes Image. If then the motion of the minde toward the image of Christ be so inseparable from the motion of the mind toward Christ himselfe, that as well the image as the thing represented be knowen together, and so knowen, that (when the knowledge cometh by the image) the knowledge
of

of the one, can by no meanes possible be di-
 uided from the knowledge of the other : it
 remayneth to discusse, whether it be like also
 in worshiping, as it is in knowing. That is
 to say, whether as my minde is one in instant
 moued, *and caried by the meane of the Image, to*
the remembrance of the truth it selfe, so the ho-
 nor and worship of both, be all one, or no.

The ques-
 tion.

11. Whereunto I answered thus, that the
 honor may be vnderstoode to be one after
 two sortes and orders of speech: either that
 the same honor which is geuen to the Ima-
 ge, the same in number is geuen to Christ: or
 contrariwise, that the honor which is geuen
 to Christ, is also geuen to his image. Of these
 two waies I will (by Gods grace) intreat so
 much the larger, by how much the harder
 this matter is.

A distinc-
 tion.

12. With me it shall stand for an vndoub-
 ted conclusion, that when so euer we begin-
 ne our worship on the Images behalfe, that
 the same selfe honor which we geue to the
 Image, wholly and altogether cometh to the
 thing represented. And by that meanes there
 is one and the selfe same honoring of the ima-
 ge and of the truth. And this conclusion or
 true proposition is found in the Seuenth Ge-
 neral Councel. The which can not be better
 examined, then if we heare how M. Iewel
 vnderstandeth the same propositiō. And then

The solu-
 tiō of the
 one part.

A. 10. 4

by comparing my sense with M. Jewels, it shall appeare, who hath found out the true meaning thereof.

In his
Replie
fol. 515.

Falsifying

Iewel. In the Second Nicene Councel, it is determined thus: *Non sunt dua adorationes, sed vna adoratio imaginis & primi exemplaris, cuius est Imago.* There are not two sorts of adoration, the one called Latria, the other Doulia, as M. Harding diuideth them, but one only adoration, both of the Image, and also of the sampler wherof the Image is.

Action. 4.
fol. 523.

13. *Sander.* This place is worthy to be examined, because there is so much folly and ignorance committed therein. To declare the matter plainely, S. Basil had written a booke against the Sabellians, Arrius, and other like Heretiques, in the which booke he speakinge of the blessed Trinitie, sheweth that the second person therof being naturalie the Image of God his Father, doth not cause the Vnitie of God to be thereby corrupted. And that S. Basil proueth by an example taken from Artificial Images: because he that calleth the Kings Image, by the name of the King, doth not thereby diuide the King, or make two Kings.

14. Vpon this Authoritie, one *Ioannes*, the Vicegerent of the Bishoppes of the East, declareth, that they speake and teach falsly, who say that we diuide Christ into twaine, when

when we seeing the Image of Christ, say therof, *This is Christ*. For as the saying by the Kinges Images, *This is the King*, maketh not two Kings: so the saying by Christes Image, *This is Christ*, maketh not two Christes.

15. And to returne to the first purpose (of S. Basil) the saying that God the Father is God, and God the Sonne is God, maketh not two Gods, because God the Sonne being naturally the Image of God his Father, is one and the same God with his Father.

16. We see then a proportion to be kept betweene the Natural Image, and the Artificial Image. For as the Sonne of God being naturallie the Image of his Father, is not an other God, but the same one God in an other Person: so the Artificial Image of Christ, is not an other Christ, but an other representation of one and the same Christ.

The proportion betweene Image and Image.

17. Whereuppon the said Iohn concludeth, S. Basile to haue declared, that as the painted Image of Christ maketh not two Christes of one, so likewise the Adoration of Christes Image, maketh not, that there are two adorations in that behalfe, but that there is one Adoration of the Image, and the same also of the first samplar, whole Image it is. The meaning then is this.

18. As when we call the Image of Christ by Christs owne name, we meane that Image

The true selfe of the Council.

to be a thing that representeth Christ who sitteth in heauen, and not to be an other Christ beside him which sitteth in heauen, but only to beare his name and shape: so when we adore and reuerence this Image of Christ, we meane not, that Christ in heauen is to be adored, as an other thing cleane diuerse from that which we adore in the Image, but only that the adoration geuen to the Image, is at the same instant geuen to Christ, and so it is one adoring of the Image and of the first samplar.

19. For the adoration goeth from the Image to the samplar. And therefore all the adoration which is done to the Image, is done to Christ, albeit not all that which is done to Christ, is also necessarily done to the Image. That is Master Iewels errour, in that he thinketh, *he maie as well begin With Christes owne honor, and bring that downe to the Image,* as contrarywise the Councel beginning with the Image, sendeth vp the whole honor thereof vnto Christ himselfe.

20. We geue in deede that selfe same adoration to Christ, which we geue to the Image, but we geue not all that to the Image, which we geue to Christ himselfe. It is then one adoration of the Image and of Christ, in respect that we referre the whole honor of the Image to Christ. But that honor is in

a ba-

How M.
Iew. was
deceaved,

a baser degree in the image, the it is in Christ. For it is in Christ naturally, and really, and for his owne sake : but in the Image by the waie of representation, and of relation, and by an accident, and secondarily, and for Christes sake.

21. But this matter belongeth neuer a whitte to take away the distinction of *latria*, and of *doulia*. And herein farther appeereth M. Iewels forging, because he englisheth these wordes, *non sunt dua adorationes*. There are not two sorts of adoration. And he exemplifieth his doctrine by *latria*, and *doulia*. Whereof Ioannes the learned Father meant not: yea rather the contrarie thereof was taught before, in the very same Action. Falsifying. Act. 4. fol. 519.

22. It is meâr, that the adoratiõ of the Image is also at the same time the adoration of the truth, and that no diuision of adoring is made in him that adoreth. But it is not saied, that the same adoration in all degrees is geuen to the image, which is due to the truth: Euen as when I honor the Seruant of my friend, I honor my friend. And so the honor is one, because the selfe same honor goeth (by mine owne appointment and intent) from the seruuant to my friend: but I geue not all that honor to the seruuant, which I geue to my friend himselfe.

23, And that in the Councell it was so meant

meant, the reason there alleaged out of Saint Basil sheweth. *Nam Diuinus Pater Basilius honorem imaginum ad ipsum exemplar primum redire testatus est.* For the Godly Father Basil hath witnessed, the honor of the Images to returne to the first samplar it selfe. So that the one adoration which is named, is without diuision in him that geueth it, and without diuision in him that receaueth it.

24. And yetto make it plainer, the adoration of the Image so passeth immediatlie to the first Samplar and Paterne, that it becometh not first one in the Image, and then afterward an other in Christ, but it passeth altogether (remaining still one and the same) from the Image to Christ himselfe.

Doulia
only com-
meth to
Christ by
his image.

25. Being then in the Image *doulia*, it is *doulia* in Christ. For by his Image there cometh no higher Honor to him, then the Image is able to conuey: Although him selfe receaue otherwise a higher honor of vs, and that also greater, then his Image can receaue or carie.

26. And yet doth not his Image any more hinder his owne honor, then S. Paule doth. For when I honor S. Paule for Christes sake, thereby no greater honor then the honor of *doulia*, cometh to Christ. For no more cometh to him by the honoring of his Creatures, then that wherewith his Creature maie
be

be honored. And albeit the honor of *doulia* be not all the honor that is due to Christ, yet it is well done to geue him so much (for as he is our Lord, so is *doulia*, due to him) and more we may not geue by that meane of his Creatures.

Aug. super
Exo q. 94.

27. Lette it be the custome in some Cities, that if the Kinge him selfe come, he shoulde haue presented to him a hundred Poundes, but if his Lieutenant come, halfe thereof should serue.

28. The halfe that is geuen to the Lieutenant, is geuen for the Kinges sake, and the honor of it cometh to the King. And yet although it be not so great an honour as his owne, it is well geuen, and was due to him by the meane of his Lieutenant.

29. Thus we vnderstand, that M. Jewel either was or would be deceaued in this matter of one adoration: thereby to burden vs with geuing of Gods owne honor to Images. And whereas he alleageth a litle before certaine words, which the Bishoppe of Constance is reported to haue saied in a booke bearinge the name of *Carolus Magnus*, the booke is forged, and there is no truit to any thing that is saied therein.

In his
Replie
fol. 115.

30. For how could *Carolus Magnus*, who built so many Churches and Monasteries, and so diligently obeyed the Bishop of Rome, (who

Sigeb. An.
Dom. 804

Sigeb. An.
Dom. 790.

(who also crowned him Emperour) who least so many Reliques at Aquisgrane where he lieth buried, who among other holy Reliques, least a litle grauen Image of our Ladie, there, with other Jewels which he ware at his breast, who caused the Frenche men to conforme them selues in their Church-Song to the Romans: how can he be iustly thought to haue written a booke against Images? And a booke of such small credit, that the Librarie whence it was taken, nor towne where it is printed, nor the man who printed it, is named therein.

The question concerning the second part of the distinction.

30. Therefore leauing to answer that booke, and all such authorities as are alleaged out of it, I will come to examine, whether, as when we beginne our honor on the images behalfe, all the honor which we geue to the image, cometh necessarily vnto the truth: so on the other side, whether, when we honor Christ in his image, and purposely doe geue him his owne honor, we may geue also the same honour at that time to the Image.

32 For although hitherto I haue defended against M. Iewel, that the learned Father Ioannes (whose words M. Iewel interpreted falsly) meant to say no more, but onlie, that the honor of the image, and of the truth is one honor (because it goeth altogether from
the

the image to the truth) yet I haue not hitherto denied, but that it may be possible for the same honour in some sense or other, to be communicated to the image, which is geuen to the truth, albeit the said Father *Ioannes* spake not thereof. For I at this present speak rather of S. Thomas of Aquines mind, then of any mannes els.

33. S. Thomas defendeth, one and the same honor to be due to the truth, and to the image thereof, then only, when we adore the truth in the image. To make his meaning plaine, we must imagine, that a deuout man cometh to a place where the image of Christ is. This man no soner seeth Christs image, but immediatly he listeth vp his hart and mind to Christ, and withal his strength adoreth Christ true God and true Man. Of whom if any man should aske, what he adored, his conscience would answere, I adore nothing els but Christ. For in deede he thinketh nor mindeth nothing els.

34. But S. Thomas is perswaded, that although he thincke not speciallie and namelie of adoring the image, yet because the image was to him at this time the meane of adoring, that he naturallie and necessarilie adored the Image with Christ in that instant, wherein he began to adore Christ: because Christ was then shewed him in the image.

3. parte
Summa
Artic. 3.
q. 25.

The opinion of S. Thomas.

35. This

35. This is somewhat like, as if whiles Christ liued on the earth, one of his Apostles meeting him after his resurrection clothed in purple, should haue adored him, nor thinking at all vpon his Godhead. This Apostle might notwithstanding be said to haue adored the purple of Christ, not in deede name-lye and distinctly, but as the matter then gaue: because, Christ, whom he adored, was then in a purple garment. And the Apostle did not then exclude his Garment from his adoration, but adored his Master as he found him, not bidding him putte off his Cote, before that he would worship him.

De verb.
Domini
Scr. 58.

36. Now, as I alleaged before, S. Augustine confesseth, that when we adore a Prince crowned or clothed with purple, that then we adore his croune and garment with him, as a thing vnited to him for that time. And he bringeth this example, to proue that we may adore the flesh of Christ with Gods owne honor, because it is euermore adored as a thing vnited to God.

37. And although the vnion of the flesh, be farre greater then that of the garment (because it is both made in one person, and dureth still) yet there is, for the time that the garment is on the Kinges back, there is, I say, alike consideration: in so much that Christes owne Garment wrought miracles, and healed

led diseases. How I pray you? But as a thing for the time adioyned to his bodie, and considered as a part of him, or as a thing of his.

38. And yet this example of adoring the garment, is not in all points like to the other of adoring the image. For the garment is an other feuerall thing. But the image of Christ, as it is the image and shape of his manhood, hath in truth of thinges, none other person or subsistence beside Christ him selfe, whose it is, whatsoeuer it is, in the true condition of his image.

39. For as I said before, we must now lay aside the matter of the image. Item the arte of the Grauer, the colours of the Painter, the proportion, yea the very relation which is betweene the image and him whose image it is. And we must consider, that when we first see the image, Christ is so present to vs therein, that before our mind doth by thought seperat his image from Christ, we adore Christ, and at that instant of our adoration, we finde Christes image made to vs, as it were, one with him selfe. The truth of which his image, hath none other thing finally to rest in, beside the Manhood of Christ, and his Manhood resteth only in the person of Christe, and his person is the worde of God, and God it selfe. Ioan. 1.

What
must be
laid aside.

40. Therefore in this condition and state
of

of adoring, S. Thomas teacheth, that the image of Christ adored, onely, and wholly for Christes sake (with whom it is then made one thing) may in that consideration of vnitie with Christ, be adored with the same honor, wherewith Christ is adored. Thus he teacheth. In which doctrine it is to be noted, that neither S. Thomas, nor any man els doth purposely geue him selfe to adore the image of Christ, as it may be considered by any meanes a seuerall thing from Christ, but only as it maketh one thing finally with Christ, if it doe at all make one thing with him.

What the
Church
doth not
to Images.

41. Secondly the Church neuer taught, nor doth teach, that the Image of Christ must be adored with the honor due to God: nor the honor which is vsually geuen to Christs image in the Church, is no such honor. For no man is taught to beleue vppon any images, or to call images his Gods, or to do Sacrifice to them. There is no such custome in the Church, nor shall neuer be.

What the
Church
doth to
Images.

42. The honor which the Church alloweth to images, or rather to the Saintes by them, is the setting of them in a high place, the putting off our cappe when we see them, and consider whose images they are, the lighting of a candel before them. The which honor is little and in maner nothing, in comparison of that which we thinke and beleue
of

of the truth it selfe.

43. I beleue the truth either to be God, if I speake of Christes image, or to see God, if I speake of the Saints. And therein I accompt them to be in an euerlasting honor, whereof they are partakers for their owne sakes. But this transitory honor which we geue to them by their images, is not worthy to be so much as the shadow of that honor which our hart beleueth. S. Thomas thinketh the doctrine of geuing Godly honor to Christes Image to be true, by the force of naturall sequele, and by the verie true nature of such an image wel vnderstoode.

44. Thirdly, if S. Thomas hath beene deceiued in this Question, it is an errour in Philosophie, and not in Diuinitie. For he alleageth not for his doctrine any other Authoritie, then Aristotle, who teacheth that an image may be considered two waies: either as it is a thing of it selfe, wherof so euer it be made, or as an image only.

45. Concerning the first way, the image differeth from the truth: concerning the second, the minde is at once so moued, and carried at one instant by the image to the truth, that as S. Thomas goeth forward with Aristotles doctrine, it apprehendeth the truth in the image. Then is the image for that time with the truth, and so the truth being adored

3.

At the cō-
trouerſie
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red in the image, and the image being ioyned with the truth, causeth the image to partake the same adoration which is geuen to the truth.

46. But what? Wil you, M. Iewel, that I shall tel you whether S. Thomas doth discourse well out of Aristotle, or no? As though you or I were so conuersant in the Metaphysikes, as to make *semibriefs*, and *minims*, of *Quiddities*, and *Entities*, and *Esseities*, and to consider what difference is betweene an image, as a relation, and an Image, as a condition. And what Vnion is made with the truth in this or that case.

47. I thinke verely if the question had benemoued in the General Council (where better Philosophers had bene like to haue mette, then you and I am) they would yet haue refused to haue talked of that Article: only contenting them selues with this doctrine, that the image of Christ, and the images of his Saintes ought to be honored: leauing it to the thing it self, what honor should come to the images parte, sith the intention of the Church is only to haue Christ honored by that kind of way, as well as by diuers other waies.

Note earnestly.

48. It is a madnesse to thinke, that the Church intendeth to honor the image, for the images owne sake: if that were so, the Church

Church would say, all images without exception must be honored. But now it neither saith nor thinketh so: but that the images of honorable and of godly Persons must be honored. Then it is the honor of the persons which is sought, and not the honor of the image, but only as the image apperteineth to the person. So that if any man for Christes sake, honor Christes image neuer so much, the honor is not geuen to the image as to stay there, but to passe ouer immediatelie vnto Christ. And therefore there is no such great peril in S. Thomas doctrine, except there be any peril in honoring Christ with godly honor, which way soeuer that honor be made ouer to him. And among all externall meanes of honoring Christ, none lightly is more subtil, more speedy, and more necessarily or highly ioyned to Christ, the honor which cometh to him by his image.

Note.

49. All this notwithstanding, I putte it for an vndoubted truth, that, *All images be honored in the Church, with an inferiour honor to that, which is due to the first samplers and principal paternes.* For whether in any case the honor of the image may be the same with the honor of its truth, or no, I neither will, nor am perfectly able throughly to discusse. But certainly the honor of the image may right well be lesse, and in a baser degree, then that

X

which

which is geuent to the truth it selfe . Because when honor is geuen to one thing for an other things sake, as to the image for the truthes sake: there is greater honor geuen to the truth, then to the image. For the truth is honored for its owne sake, and the image not for its owne sake at all, but as belonging to the truth.

1. 50. Againe the truth may be honored without the image therof, as God him selfe is honored of vs, although we can deuise no Image of his incomprehensible substance. But no image can be iustly honored at all, without the truth whereunto it belongeth. For as it is an image it hath this nature, to be necessarily referred vnto that whole image it is.

3. 51. Last of all, the image is sette vp and honored, because it is a thing directed to this end, that the truth may be thereby remembered and honored. And therefore euen when no man seeth the Image, or vseth it: yet it standeth stil, in a high place, and is decked or adorned after some honorable sorte. Which declareth a certaine externall honor to be geuen to the signe it selfe, for that it may signify, & is appointed to signify the truth, though presently it doth not signify, because no man beholdeth it.

52. This honor of letting an image stand in a high place, or suffering a lampe to burne before

before it, is geuen to the truth by them, who loue the truth so wel, that for his sake, they do thus honor the Image. But this is not all the honor which we geue to the truth. For we beleue the truth to be in heauen, and to see the nature and substance of God face to face.

53. The which beliefe of ours concerning the honor of Saintes, is an inestimable honor geuen to the Saintes, in comparison of that which is temporally done about their Images. For wee thincke the artificial Image to be a transitory thing, which may be honored to daie for the trutthes sake, and by mischance may be burnt to morow without any dishonor to the truth, if the fire proceede not of theire malice, who for despite destroye Saints Images.

54. This honor then, which is geuen to the Images, being incomparably lesse then that which we geue to the truth, is vndoubtedly to be geuen, without curiouse discussing, whether any more may be geuen or no. For if more may be iustly geuen, more is geuen though we know not of it. Because the thing it selfe and the nature of an image hath all that alwaies in it, which is due to it in the truth it selfe, whensoever by the Image we adore the truth.

55. How much is due to the Image, we

324 *Of Images, and Images breakers.*
neede not care, sithens it is the truth that we
honor, and not the Image in it selfe, or for
ist owne sake. So that if when we see Chri-
stes Image, we geue Christes owne honor to
him, either the Image is then adioyned so
nigh to him, that it necessarily pertaketh the
same honor with him, and then the Image is
so honored : or els the Image is not so nigh
ioyned, as to haue the same honor, and then
I geue it not the same honour : but what so
euer honor I geue the Image as an Image, it
surely passeth ouer, to the thing it selfe.

21 JA 50

FINIS.

The

